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FORT FREDERICK RESTORATION  
REPORT ON HISTORICAL RESEARCH

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## I. The Problem

Restoring an eighteenth century fortification, like restoring any historic structure, poses certain problems. Usually, so little of the original structure has remained unchanged, if much of it has remained at all, that the reconstructionist must turn to other sources of information. But each of these alternative sources have their limitations as well. Original plans, if they have survived, are not very detailed. Many, in fact, give nothing beyond a plan of construction lines for the defensive works and blocked areas for buildings. The engineers who drew these plans apparently left details to the builders' ingenuity - and to our imaginations. Written descriptions are often tantalizingly vague and maddeningly <sup>in</sup>contradictory. Drawings and photographs help, but only for general features. They rarely show detail. Besides, drawings can be inaccurate, and by the time photography was invented, most colonial forts were ruins. Archeology can make important contributions, but, by itself, cannot provide a complete picture. As a consequence of all this, the reconstructionist must squeeze every ounce of useful data from every morsel of information that the vagaries of time have left him. And, he must be willing to rely on conjecture.

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Conjecture need not result in a tentative and possibly inaccurate restoration, however. A firm knowledge of historical architecture and building, especially as they relate to fortifications, comparisons with other forts that have survived in better condition or for which better information is otherwise available, and a liberal application of common sense can go a long way toward filling the gaps left between the known facts about any particular fort and assuring that the restor-

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ation is ~~completely~~ true to the fort's original character. With that much, we should be well satisfied.<sup>1</sup>

## II. The Approach

The basic objective of the summer's work with Fort Frederick was to aid the architect, Emil J. Kish, in preparing preliminary working plans for the proposed restoration of the fort and to construct an historical argument defending those plans in every possible detail. 1.  
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The first step of this task was to review all work done by previous historical investigators. This included literature produced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by amateur historians who did much to resurrect the fort's history from obscurity but who were not too concerned with uncovering the details of the fort's original appearance. It also involved reviewing the work generated by the Civilian Conservation Corps project at Fort Frederick State Park in the 1930's.

### Previous work

During the thirties, the National Park Service and the State of Maryland considered restoration of Fort Frederick and undertook the first major historical research effort to determine as much as possible about the fort's original appearance. These efforts resulted in major contributions and laid the basis for subsequent work. Unfortunately, the archeology was not directed by a trained archeologist and the results were neither as complete nor refined as they might have been. The historical research, although it was undertaken by a professional historian, did not get started as early in the project as it should have and was done under the pressure of producing information fast enough to keep the CCC personnel busy. Consequently, some of the

conclusions drawn in the 1930's about Fort Frederick's original appearance are questionable, especially so in light of this summer's work. In the end, the CCC restoration was limited to partially rebuilding the stone wall, filling one bastion and reconstructing part of a catwalk.

Since the thirties, several more amateur historians have attacked the problem of unraveling the fort's secrets with admirable enthusiasm and diligence, and their efforts have turned up new sources of information previously missed. What has been lacking, however, is an overall synthesis of all the work done by numerous people in the last three quarters of a century to see what sort of picture emerges as the pieces of the jig saw puzzle are fitted together. There has also been a need for an assessment of what additional avenues of research ~~have been yet~~ <sup>remain</sup> unexplored.

### Search Efforts

Since previous efforts have failed to uncover an original set of plans for the fort,<sup>2</sup> the discovery of those illusive plans became the primary objective of this summer's research. Personal searches were conducted at several local records repositories: The Maryland Hall of Records in Annapolis; the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore; the Washington County Historical Society in Hagerstown; and the National Archives and the Library of Congress in Washington, D. C. In addition, letters of inquiry were sent to numerous records repositories both in this country and abroad. Major repositories receiving these letters were the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; the Huntington Library in San Marino, California; the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario; both the British Museum and the Public Records Office, London; and the Biblioteque Nationale and the Archives Nationale, both in Paris. Other repositories receiving letters included every university library, state archive,

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and state historical society in the original thirteen colonies, altogether about fifty different institutions. Letters also went to each county historical society in Maryland.

To date, there has been approximately a ninety percent response to these letters, all very discouraging. The Huntington Library had a previously <sup>un Known</sup> ~~undetected~~ plan of the fort's walls as they stood in about 1850 with a letter of explanation by an unknown author. Both the drawing and letter <sup>were of limited use</sup> ~~proved fairly useless~~, since they contained no information not already known. //

In evaluating the otherwise negative response to the inquiries, it must be remembered that record repositories, like so many other public service institutions, are understaffed and overworked. Consequently, searches for information that are requested by letter are necessarily limited to available finding aids and can hardly be called exhaustive. The Public Records Office in London, for example, reported no references to plans for Fort Frederick in its indexes, but suggested a thorough search of several specific manuscript collections in its holdings by private individuals in England who do such work on a contractual basis. Negotiations are now underway to get this work done. //

Another ploy to turn up original plans, or even descriptions, of the fort has been a campaign to get notices that we are looking for this information inserted into historical journals with large circulations on the east coast. It is possible that any such plans or descriptions are in private collections, and the only way to run them down is to advertise far and wide. It is too early to assess the effect of this latest effort. 2. //

With no original plan of Fort Frederick to work from, the architect and the writer decided to undertake a thorough study of both the theory and practice of eighteenth century fortification and to apply what we learned to what we positively knew about Fort Frederick. We reviewed several eighteenth century manuals on fortification, including the basic work of Sebastien de Vauban, who is generally regarded as the master theorist of modern fortification, and an English work by John Muller, which was published the year before Fort Frederick's construction. In addition, we studied numerous original plans for other English frontier forts of the French and Indian War period. These plans are largely contained in the Crown Collection of North American Maps (also known as the King's Maps) in the British Museum. Excellent photostat copies of all the plans are available at the Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress. And finally, we read the recent secondary studies of French and Indian War fortifications by Charles M. Stotz and others.

This effort at self-education proved very rewarding. The more we learned about the theory and practice of fortification, the more sense we could make out of the disparate bits of information we had for Fort Frederick. More pieces of the puzzle fell into place. Where information about specific features of Fort Frederick was lacking, we found we could make sound inferences by studying similar features in the King's Maps. Much of the defense of the current plans for the Fort Frederick restoration (Appendix B) is based on comparisons with plans of other forts.

A fourth area of research was the study of extant eighteenth century structures that we felt provided useful models for certain

features of Fort Frederick, especially the barracks. We visited several colonial log structures in Maryland to observe design and construction detail. The more important of these buildings were the Evans House (1764) in Carroll County, the log kitchen of the Indian Queen Tavern (c. 1760) in Cecil County, and an abandoned and dilapidated structure near ~~the~~ Conococheague Creek in Washington County. The architect took measurements and made detailed photographs and drawings of these structures, as well as others, for future reference.

We also visited two restored French and Indian War forts and an ongoing project of archeology and restoration at the site of a Revolutionary War period frontier settlement, all in Pennsylvania. The forts were Ligonier (1758) and Pitt (1759), both of which were restored by architect Charles M. Stotz. At Fort Pitt, we met and talked with Mr. Stotz, who offered valuable guidance with our work at Fort Frederick. At Fort Ligonier, we met Mr. Jacob Grimm, who directed the archeological work there and who also showed us the work that he and Stotz are doing at the frontier settlement, Hanna's Town, which is east of Pittsburgh. The work of these two gentlemen more than adequately demonstrates that carefully coordinated historical and archeological research combined with sensitive architectural interpretation can assure sound and impressive restoration results. //

There are a number of other original and restored eighteenth century forts in this country (chiefly New York State) and Canada. We have corresponded with the curators and site managers at many of these forts and have studied what original plans still exist for them. Due to restrictions of time and finances, however, it has not been possible

to visit these sites. Nevertheless, such visits are very much in order during the course of the Fort Frederick project.

One final avenue of approach in the research phase has been to set <sup>5.</sup> up an informal board of reviewers comprised of people with a variety of expertises in the fields of architectural and military history and to whom this report will be submitted for critical evaluation. Every effort was made to contact everyone who would be qualified to throw stones at the final restoration and invite them to throw stones at the plans, which are more easily changed than the finished product will be. A list of this board may be found in Appendix C.

The results of this summer's efforts are gratifying. Our findings have necessitated major rethinking of the traditional view of Fort Frederick, but we feel that we have developed a picture of the fort's original appearance that can be substantiated with solid evidence.

### III. Findings

#### A. A Brief History of Fort Frederick's Construction and Use

Only once during the French and Indian War did the Lower House of the Maryland Assembly vote funds to aid the British war effort. On March 22, 1756, after weeks of pleading by Governor Sharpe, the Assembly passed a bill that provided for the raising of £40,00 in Maryland currency "for His Majesty's Service"<sup>3</sup> Like other colonial legislatures, the Maryland <sup>e</sup>del~~y~~gates not only claimed the sole authority to raise public funds, but also jealously guarded their right to specify how that money would be spent. Thus, in the bill raising the £40,000, the "delegates carefully spelled out to what purposes much of the money

would go and reserved the right to pass later supplementary acts directing the use of the remaining funds.

Of the £40,000, the March 22 act set aside £11,000 for constructing one strong fort on North Mountain (now called Fairview Mountain), no more than four outlying blockhouses, and to raise provincial troops to garrison these installations and patrol the intervening frontier.<sup>4</sup> The construction of a strong fort on the frontier had been one of Sharpe's principal objectives for at least the pervious year. In the spring and summer of 1755, he had toured the Maryland frontier to personally assess the declining fortunes of English settlers who faced daily threats from the French and their Indian allies as the storm clouds gathered for another in the series of wars fought between the English and the French from 1689 until the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1814. Sharpe was particularly alarmed by the vulnerability of the only major fortification on the Maryland frontier, Fort Cumberland, which had been hastily built by Virginians on Maryland soil to protect the interests of the trading and land speculating Ohio Company. Writing to Virginia Governor Robert Dinwiddie in August, 1755, Sharpe observed that "twould be impossible to defend Fort Cumberland" against almost any kind of French offensive. Sharpe recommended that Fort Cumberland be abandoned as a "Grand Magazine" for it was too exposed. Sharpe further suggested the building of a new fort sixteen miles down the Potomac from Fort Cumberland on a site recommended to him by "Messrs. McKellar and Gordon".<sup>5</sup>

Patrick McKellar and Harry Gordon were royal engineers who played important roles in the building of English forts during the French and Indian War. Both survived Braddock's defeat near Fort Duquesne in 1755.

(Fort Cumberland was a base of operations for the ill-fated Braddock Expedition, and Sharpe most likely conferred with McKellar and Gordon there.) McKellar later went north and helped lay out several of the important forts in New York, one of which, Fort Wood Creek, though smaller, had the same ground plan as Fort Frederick.<sup>6</sup> McKellar was captured when the French commander the Marquis de Montcalm seized the English stronghold at Oswego in 1756. Harry Gordon later laid out Fort Pitt and, after the war, became chief royal engineer in North America.<sup>7</sup>

The fact that Sharpe conferred with McKellar and Gordon less than a year before he built his fort on North Mountain (which is considerably lower on the Potomac than the point recommended by McKellar and Gordon) raises the possibility that these two gentlemen left plans in Sharpe's hands which the governor could have used as a basis for Fort Frederick. Sharpe had informed Dinwiddie that McKellar and Gordon promised to send him plans for the works that they would recommend for the site sixteen miles below Fort Cumberland and further told Dinwiddie that he would send the Virginia Governor a copy.<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, no subsequent evidence of the plans appears in either the papers of Sharpe or Dinwiddie,<sup>9</sup> nor have any of the royal maps yielded anything done by McKellar and Gordon that could have been used for Fort Frederick. It is possible that the months of confusion attending Braddock's defeat diverted McKellar and Gordon from making good on their promise to Sharpe.

Shortly after Sharpe got the money to build Fort Frederick, he announced that, because "all our Men . . . [are] raw and undisciplined and all our officers ignorant of every thing that relates to Fortifications or Places of Defence," he would go to North Mountain himself

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to personally oversee the initial stages of construction.<sup>10</sup> This was a task for which he was well qualified. Before he became Governor of Maryland, Sharpe held a captain's commission in a British marine regiment and, later, a commission as lieutenant colonel of foot. His service in the latter capacity took him to the West Indies.<sup>11</sup> Although his major biographer presents no evidence that he had training as a military engineer,<sup>12</sup> Sharpe's experience as a regular British officer, especially in the West Indies, must have afforded him at least a modicum of knowledge about fortification. It is possible that he designed Fort Frederick himself.

Careful reading of Sharpe's letters in late August and September, 1756, indicates that when he left the site on August 16, both of the enlisted barracks were up, that the bastions were fairly advanced, and that the curtain walls (the walls connecting the bastions) were at least laid out, if actual construction on them had not yet begun.<sup>13</sup> Work on the fort dragged on for over a year afterward and cost the province three times what Sharpe estimated it would cost.<sup>14</sup> In late August, 1756, he expressed the fear that the Lower House would not allow more money to be spent at Fort Frederick, but in October the House approved the use of an additional £2400 to continue work.<sup>15</sup>

Because of the mounting expense in building the fort, the House finally halted funds late in 1757 before the fort was finished. In December of that year, the delegates in the Lower House expressed concern about what we today would call a "defense cost overrun":

Near the Sum of £6,000 has been expended in purchasing the Ground belonging to and constructing Fort Frederick; and tho' we have not any exact Information what Sum may still be wanting to compleat it, (if ever it shall be thought proper to be done) yet we are afraid the Sum requisite for that Purpose must be considerable, and we are apprehensive that Fort is so large, that in Case of an Attack, it cannot be defended without

a Number of Men larger than this Province can support,  
purely to maintain a Fortification . . . 16

None of the several supplemental bills passed subsequent to the above remarks provided further expenditure for completing Fort Frederick.<sup>17</sup>

This leaves a bothersome question - how much of the fort was finished? Although there is no detailed account of what needed to be done when the assembly cut off funds, it is possible to make some fairly dependable inferences. In September, 1756, Sharpe received a report on the fort's progress from Captain Alexander Beall, second in command of the Maryland troops who garrisoned and built the fort. Beall said that he would soon enclose the gorges of the bastions, which probably meant that only the parapets, the highest features of the bastions, needed be raised to finish them. He also indicated that the curtain walls were perhaps one third finished. Furthermore, he added, the timbers for the officers' barracks were ready (we have already seen that the enlisted barracks were finished) and that he was preparing the "Stoccades", evidently a palisade for the fort's outworks.<sup>18</sup>

Considering that construction continued for more than a year after Beall's report, it would seem reasonable to conclude that the features he discussed were eventually finished. There is further evidence to substantiate this conclusion. First, of course, there are the remains of the fort which show a substantial stone wall enclosing three building foundations (see Appendix A). Furthermore, James Kenny, a Pennsylvanian who brought several wagons of supplies to Fort Frederick in January, 1759, described the fort as follows:

Set off this morning passed the wagons and came to Fort Frederick where is a village of little houses, about 18 I think, without the Fort it being constructed of good



stonework and high, only one large gate to the South and the King's Storehouse [i. e., officers' barracks and storehouse] fronting it on the North. In the Fort a row of Barracks on the East and West sides, and great space in the middle.

Later on in this account, Kenny told the story of a drunken soldier whom an officer "pushed . . . away toward the guardhouse."<sup>19</sup>

On the basis of the foregoing, it would seem reasonable to conclude that the fort was pretty far advanced when work stopped. But what else did Sharpe want done? The map of the fort's remains shows a large open area inside the south curtain wall that is out of proportion to the fort's plan, when the locations of the three interior buildings are considered. Possibly, Sharpe intended to build more interior buildings. Plans of other period forts show that very frequently small buildings were built on either side of the gateways. The plan of Fort Cumberland, as one example, shows an officers' guardhouse and an enlisted men's guardhouse built as casemates on either side of the gate.<sup>20</sup> Fort Loudoun, which George Washington built in Winchester, Virginia in 1756, had officers' quarters and dining facilities on either side of its gate.<sup>21</sup> Kenny's reference to a guardhouse at Fort Frederick may indicate a fourth interior building which the CCC archeology failed to turn up. Further archeology along the south curtain wall might help clear up this question.

Another possibility of unfinished work at Fort Frederick is the outwork or counter fort. Every other fort the size of Fort Frederick had such works, but aside from Beall's reference to "Stoccades", there is no historical evidence of an outwork at Fort Frederick. This question, too, might be resolved by further archeology.

It is also possible that the fort was finished with help from royal authorities. In the spring and summer of 1758, during preparations for General John Forbes' expedition to Fort Duquesne, Fort Frederick was a beehive of activity. It was to serve as a supply depot and base of operations for the upcoming English offensive. Governor Sharpe returned there to personally direct some of the preparations. In April, Sir John St. Clair, a British supply officer, informed Sharpe that he had ordered an engineer named Lieutenant Bassett to go to Fort Frederick to repair roads, to build transport boats, and to "repair the Magazines" there.<sup>22</sup> Later correspondence indicates that Bassett brought a supply of entrenching tools with him.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, in June, sixty men from the Royal American Regiment brought artillery stores to Fort Frederick and were then used to do the road repair.<sup>24</sup> Conceivably, Sharpe might have made use of the engineer, tools, and extra labor to finish any uncompleted projects for the fort that he had in mind.

The Forbes Expedition was successful in dislodging the French from Fort Duquesne, and this reduced considerably the threat to the Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia frontiers. Already, the Maryland Lower House was eager to disband the expensive Maryland Forces. By late Spring, 1758, even before the Expedition, the House had let the funds for the maintenance of the troops run out without a new appropriation. Forbes took the three hundred Marylanders into royal pay.<sup>25</sup> By December, they were back in the pay of the Province,<sup>26</sup> but for the last time. No more money was appropriated for their support and by the end of 1761 (and probably much earlier) Fort Frederick was abandoned.<sup>27</sup> For a brief period in 1763, during Pontiac's Rebellion, Sharpe ordered militia and arms to the fort as a precaution, but the crisis passed and that fort

was once again abandoned and the arms returned to Annapolis.<sup>28</sup>

Between the French and Indian War and the Revolution, the fort was in private hands. Then, in 1777, after Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga, the Continental Congress, with thousands of prisoners of war on its hands, decided to use the old fort as one of several prison compounds. On December 16 of that year, the Board of War instructed Colonel Moses Rawlings of Maryland to inspect the fort and report on its possible use as a prison. Rawlings did so with dispatch and received an acknowledgment on December 28.<sup>29</sup> Unfortunately, the report itself cannot be found among the Board of War papers at the National Archives.<sup>30</sup>

Rawlings' report was evidently favorable, and on December 20, the Maryland Assembly resolved to take on the responsibility of refurbishing the fort, which had by that time fallen into a state of disrepair. A gap had been made in the wall, much of the woodwork had been burnt by local residents (evidently scavaging for nails) and door and window frames and floor planks had been stripped out of the barracks. The Council of Maryland engaged Samuel Hughes to make the necessary repairs, which he did by the middle of 1778.<sup>31</sup> In December of 1778, Thomas McCrea and Thomas Smith built additional barracks at the fort.<sup>32</sup> A stockade was put up in the fall of 1781 to make additional room for prisoners seized at Yorktown.<sup>33</sup>

Rawlings commanded the prison at Fort Frederick and had to make the best of adverse conditions. In 1779, his regiment, which guarded the prisoners, was ordered to Fort Pitt, where there was need for its services as a fighting unit. Thereafter, Rawlings had to work with guards drafted from the often unreliable militia. Provisions were so short for the prisoners that Rawlings resorted to hiring them out

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as laborers to local farmers who agreed to feed and otherwise provide for them. For this he received a mild rebuke from his superiors and an order to recall the prisoners. By 1780, nearly 1,100 enemy soldiers were crowded into the fort. The barracks were insufficient to house them, and Rawlings had to plead with the Continental Congress to divert eight hundred more prisoners who were on their way to the fort.<sup>34</sup> After Yorktown, the number of prisoners at the fort must have swelled considerably, although no figures are available.

From the Revolution to 1922, Fort Frederick was privately owned. Two union infantry companies manned it briefly during the Civil War and, according to local legend, broke the hole currently in the south curtain wall to train a cannon toward Rebel territory across the Potomac. No historical documentation for this story is available, and it should be noted that the Civil War troops were infantry, not artillery.<sup>35</sup> In 1922, the State purchased the fort and surrounding acreage and developed a park. In the mid 1930's, the Civilian Conservation Corps undertook the partial restoration already alluded to.

## B. The Fort's Original Appearance

### 1. The Wall

The stone wall that so dominates Fort Frederick today is a logical starting point to describe the fort's original appearance. That Governor Sharpe built this stone wall is tribute to his military acumen, even if it did cost him support in the Lower House of the Assembly. By comparison to other period forts, Fort Frederick was a major fortification, both because of its size and its stone wall. While he was planning its construction, Sharpe remarked to Secretary Calvert that "Fort Cumberland and the little places of Defence that

have been built in the two Neighboring Colonies are by no means such as I would have built on the Frontiers of this Province."<sup>36</sup> In 1761, the Provincial Council compared Fort Frederick to Fort Cumberland noting that "the former is far the Strongest," because of its size and stone wall.<sup>37</sup> The stone wall added considerably to the fort's cost, but Sharpe thought that the extra expense was justified. To Lord Baltimore he cited the recent burning of a wooden fort in Pennsylvania and added:

This Accident has a good deal alarmed the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania while it makes our people see the Expediency of my building Fort Frederick of Stone, which measure alone (tho it is expensive) is the only one that can secure a Garrison against the Savages conducted by European Officers as it is certain these Indian Parties are.<sup>38</sup>

As we have seen, despite Sharpe's confidence that the burning of other forts would vindicate him, the Lower House remained dissatisfied with the expense of a large stone fort.

Because much of the original stone wall was still standing in the 1930's, the major part of the CCC restoration effort was directed toward rebuilding that wall. Many people are not now aware that the CCC restoration was not intended to be complete, since there was doubt as to exactly how high the wall should be and how it should be finished off at the top. The historian, Dr. Charles Porter, who directed the restoration, considered the possibility of not only filling the bastions with earth but also building earthen embankments behind the curtain walls. This configuration would have been consistent with eighteenth century methods of fortifying so large a site. However, engineers with whom Dr. Porter consulted informed him that embankments

behind the curtains would push them over and that too much fill in the bastions would do the same to them. Moreover, evidence of mortar pointing on the insides of the curtains, but not in the bastions, and the presence of joist holes along the curtains and into the bastions seemed to warrant free standing curtains with wooden catwalks running into bastions with earth fill up to the catwalk level. Dr. Stanley Pargellis of Yale University, an expert on the military aspects of the French and Indian War, concurred with this view and recommended using the King's Map plan of the catwalk at Fort Oswego, New York, as a model.<sup>39</sup> The presently filled northwest bastion and the partial catwalk along the west curtain wall of Fort Frederick are interpretations of the 1930's findings.

Our research this summer has indicated an original wall configuration substantially different from that arrived at in the thirties. We feel that Dr. Porter was on the right track when he considered earthen embankments behind the curtains, but that he relied too heavily upon the advice of modern engineers who were unfamiliar with eighteenth century methods of fortification. The stone wall at Fort Frederick was, in our view, a protective facing for an earth and timber wall that was approximately sixteen feet thick. The reasons for which we conclude this are complicated.

First, the view of a thick wall is more consistent with eighteenth century methods of fortification. Before the invention of artillery, the science of fortification involved the construction of very high walls which, for their time, were quite defensible. Artillery, however, made it easy for an enemy force to either hurl explosive shells

over the highest walls or to knock them down with direct fire. Consequently, the theory of fortification shifted emphasis from "defense in height" to "defense in depth". By constructing lower, thicker walls, engineers presented besiegers with harder to hit and more resistant targets. By the late seventeenth century, Sebastien de Vauban, a French military engineer, had devised extensive and complicated rules for laying out and constructing such fortifications with the utmost precision.<sup>40</sup>

The plans of English frontier forts in America evidence the application of Vauban's methods by the engineers who drew them. Something else that these plans show, and which was evidently misunderstood in the thirties, is that thick earthen walls, such as Dr. Porter envisioned at Fort Frederick, could indeed be built without the danger of collapse. This was accomplished by the use of interior log tie beams that connected the outer face of the wall (be it log, masonry or even sod) with an inner retaining wall (usually log).<sup>41</sup>

A careful reading of the letters and papers relating to Fort Frederick's original construction indicates that this was in fact the type of wall that Sharpe had built. In a letter of August 23, 1756, to Virginia Governor Dinwiddie, Sharpe remarked, "We face the Bastions and Curtains with stone" (emphasis added).<sup>42</sup> The Council's 1761 description of the fort noted that "the Curtain[s] and Bastions are faced with a thick stone wall . . ." (emphasis added)<sup>43</sup> Captain Beall's September, 1756, progress report on Fort Frederick's construction indicates that he was building a combination stone and timber wall into which earth would presumably be poured:

the Curtain Lines is carry'd on as follows. the North West with Timber Seven feet and an half high, the North East with Timber Six feet high, the South west with Stone one half Seven and half feet high the other part [i.e., the inner log retaining wall] four and an half feet high, the South East five feet high to the Gate, and half way from the Gate Eastward the Same Heighth.<sup>44</sup>

The joist holes inside the stone wall at Fort Frederick were not necessarily for a catwalk. Not only was there the one row noted in the thirties near the top of the wall into which joists for the catwalk were presumed to have gone, there were two lower rows of holes which would not have been necessary for a catwalk.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, the present southeast bastion, which required the least rebuilding in the thirties, had the same rows of holes continued from the curtains. Since the bastions supposedly had no catwalks, there would have been no need for any joist holes in either this bastion or any of the others.

But, the holes were there and must have served some purpose. One possibility is that they were for masons' scaffolds. Another possibility is that they were joist holes to secure the log tie beams that would have been necessary at several levels inside both the curtains and the bastions if the walls were earth and timber, as we think. The 1934 archeological map showed a ground level layer of decayed wood about fifteen feet wide around the insides of the northeast and southwest bastions (see Appendix A). This decayed wood could have been the remains of the timber intrastructures in these two bastions.

Why no more archeological evidence of an earth and timber wall showed up in the 1930's archeology may be attributable to one of two things. First, the thirties archeology was rather crude. There was not even a trained archeologist at the site.<sup>46</sup> Possibly, additional

*and could have  
misinterpreted the  
"layer of decayed wood"*



decayed wood could have been missed and, if so, further evidence might be uncovered by future archeology. Secondly, since the fort was a prison X during the Revolution, it is quite possible that the earth and timber sections of the wall were removed to leave just the stone portion as a detention wall. There is no historical evidence to substantiate this, but it would seem to have been appropriate.<sup>47</sup>

Concerning the interior mortar pointing which was found in the curtain walls but not in the bastion walls, it should be noted that pointing up masonry walls is something which must be done at regular intervals for maintenance long after a particular wall is built and does not necessarily reflect original construction. The fact that the interior pointing mortar was fifty percent lime and fifty percent sand, whereas the exterior mortar was seventy-five percent lime and twenty-five percent sand,<sup>48</sup> strongly suggests that the interior wall was pointed at a later date, perhaps in the Revolution when, presumably, the timber and earth were removed.

The proposed reconstruction of Fort Frederick's wall (shown in plan and section in Appendix B1 and 2) is based upon the standard eighteenth century method of constructing such walls. The stone facing (which covers the plane of the wall called the escarpment, or scarp) is to be raised to twenty feet above foundation level and capped at the berme in the manner of the brick scarp wall at Fort Pitt. The earth and timber structure behind it includes first a raised parapet with log retaining wall. Below the parapet is to be a level step called the banquette. Behind the banquette is to be a level space known as the terre plein, and, below that, is the interior log retaining wall.<sup>49</sup>

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June 23, 1974.

Mr. Stephen Israel, Archaeologist,  
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Dear Mr. Israel:

As you no doubt know, after the defeat of Braddock in July of 1755, and the withdrawal of the British forces remaining under Col. Dunbar to Philadelphia (in spite of the protests of Col. Washington, and Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia), the western frontier of Virginia was left open to the inroads of the French and Indians. In March of 1756 the Virginia House of Burgesses passed an act which provided "that a chain of forts shall be erected, to begin at Henry Enochs, on Great Cape-Capon, in the County of Hampshire, and to extend to the South Fork of Mayo River in the County of Halifax, to consist of such a number and at such distance from each other as shall be thought necessary and directed by the Governor or Commander-in-Chief of this Colony." (Hening Vol 7, Page 17) George Washington had already been named as Commander-in-Chief.

The forts mentioned in this act of the House of Burgesses seem to have been of three kinds: Block houses, Stockades, and Forts. I refer you to the valuable work of Louis K. Koontz entitled The Virginia Frontier, 1754-1763 published by the Johns Hopkins Press in 1925 for a detailed description of these structures. Dr. Koontz in this book identifies and describes 81 of these forts. I am convinced that there was a fourth kind of structure to which the frontier settlers applied the name "fort", and that was a substantial dwelling or outbuilding, usually of stone, to which drinking water was accessible from a spring in the cellar or piped into the house from a nearby source, and into which loop-holes for firing had been designed.

Among these so-called "forts" in old Frederick County, Virginia, which are not included in Dr. Koontz's list, I might list, among others, Fort Bowman, Fort Stephens, Fort Fry, Fort White, Fort Helm, and Fort George.

Now as to your question about Fort Stephens. This is a small circular building of stone which still stands in the Village of Marleboro on Cedar Creek in Frederick County, Virginia. It is on land which was first granted to Lewis Stephens and later acquired by Isaac Zane Jr. as the site of his famous iron works, which furnished munitions for the Continental Army during the Revolution. When it was first called "Fort Stephens" I do not know. Whether it ever was used as a sort of fort during the French and Indian War I do not know. My own opinion is that it was an ice-house on the Zane property, but I could be wrong. If you want to see it, come by and I'll direct you or take you to it.

Sincerely,  
Garland R. Quarles

GARLAND R. QUARLES  
1435 GREYSTONE TERRACE  
WINCHESTER, VA. 22601  
June 23, 1974.

Mr. Stephen Israel, Archaeologist,  
Park Office,  
Fort Frederick State Park,  
Big Pool, Maryland 21711.

Dear Mr. Israel:

As you no doubt know, after the defeat of Braddock in July of 1755, and the withdrawal of the British forces remaining under Col. Dunbar to Philadelphia (in spite of the protests of Col. Washington, and Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia), the western frontier of Virginia was left open to the inroads of the French and Indians. In March of 1756 the Virginia House of Burgesses passed an act which provided "that a chain of forts shall be erected, to begin at Henry Enochs, on Great Cape-Capon, in the County of Hampshire, and to extend to the South Fork of Mayo River in the County of Halifax, to consist of such a number and at such distance from each other as shall be thought necessary and directed by the Governor or Commander-in-Chief of this Colony." (Hening Vol 7, Page 17) George Washington had already been named as Commander-in-Chief.

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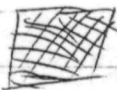
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Sincerely,  
Garland R. Quarles



7-1-74



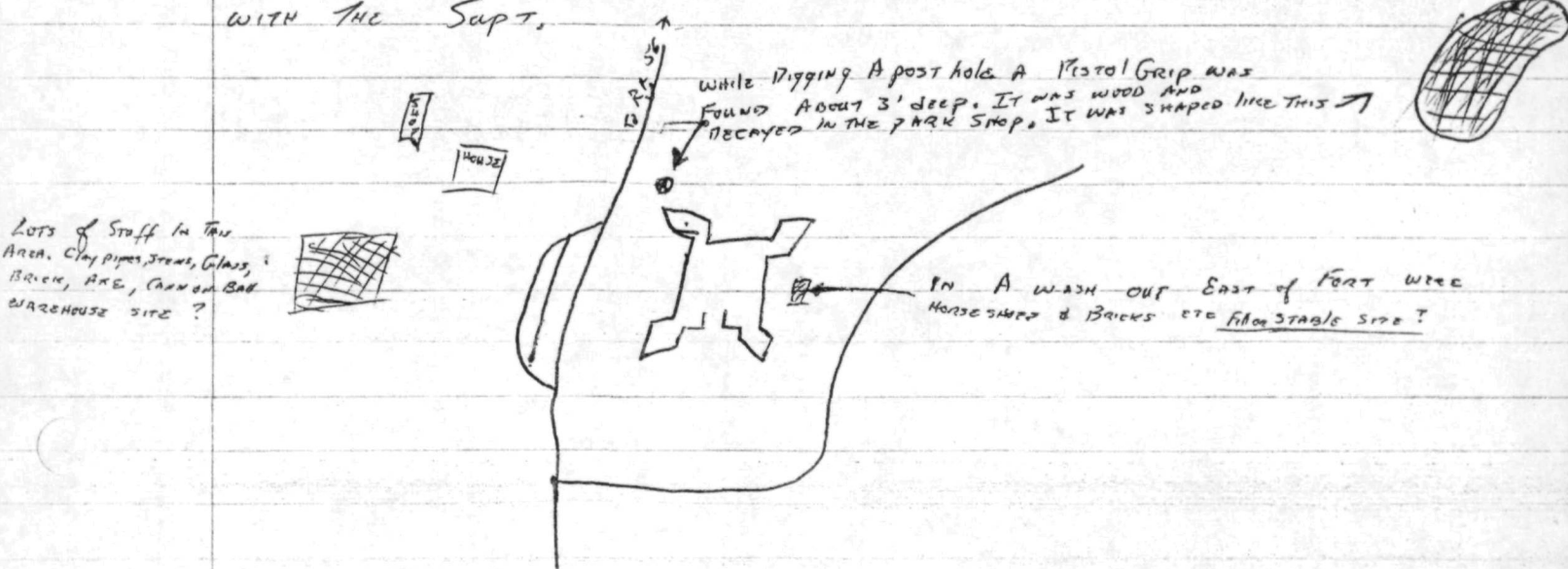
Henry Swad

B: Two sources not previously considered unless done by Mr. Kammel are the Cavanaugh family (last private owners of the fort) and Mr. Williams grandson of the Black Williams family who owned the fort in the 1800's. Both are still in the area but I don't have direct contact with either just now. A third source is the "Tax Rolls" for the property. One of these is on film at the UNO library.

Dear Stephen

7-1-74

I RECEIVED YOUR NOTE TODAY. I NEVER DID ANY REAL DIGGING AT THE FORT PROPERTY. WHILE WORKING THERE IN 1965, I HAD A GOOD CHANCE TO LOOK THE AREA OVER RATHER CLOSELY AND DID FIND A FEW ARTIFACTS - THEY ARE AT HOME AND I DON'T RECALL NOW EXACTLY WHAT ALL I HAVE. THE SKETCH BELOW WILL GIVE YOU AN IDEA OF WHERE THESE ITEMS CAME FROM. THE BEST ITEMS WERE LEFT AT THE FORT WITH THE SGT.



AXE LEFT AT PARK OFFICE. IT WAS LAP-OVER

CANNON BALL FOUND AND I ASSUME KEPT BY MR. MILLS FORMER SGT.



Henry Smith

B: TWO SOURCES NOT PREVIOUSLY CONSIDERED UNLESS DONE BY MR. KAMMUS ARE THE CAVANAUGH FAMILY (LAST PRIVATE OWNERS OF THE FORT) AND MR. WILLIAMS GRANDSON OF THE BLACK WILLIAMS FAMILY WHO OWNED THE FORT IN THE 1800'S. BOTH ARE STILL IN THE AREA BUT I DON'T HAVE DIRECT CONTACT WITH EITHER JUST NOW. A THIRD SOURCE IS THE "TAX ROLLS" FOR THE PROPERTY. ONE OF THOSE IS ON FILM AT THE WN CO LIBRARY.

Because wooden interior tie beams would rot in a matter of years, any permanent restoration will have to rely on camouflaged modern techniques such as the concrete wall shown behind the log wall. The railing on the interior edge of the terre plein is for the safety of the modern-day visitor, a necessary compromise.

The basic profile of the curtain wall is to be retained in the bastions, with two modifications. While it was easy to fire muskets over parapets, it was difficult to fire cannon over them. For this reason, cuts known as embrasures were made through fort parapets at key points along the wall where artillery was to go.<sup>50</sup> Since Sharpe intended to put only four cannons at the fort, one in each bastion,<sup>51</sup> embrasures need be made only in the bastions and not along the curtains. The artillery platforms shown are based on those in the plans for Forts Stanwix and Ontario.<sup>52</sup> It will also be necessary to make provisions for one, possibly two, powder magazines in one or more bastions.

#### Powder Magazines

At this point, the powder magazine(s) pose a problem. Exactly how many there were at Fort Frederick and where they were located are unsolved questions. In the April, 1758 letter in which St. Clair informed Sharpe about Lieutenant Bassett, St. Clair specified that Bassett was, among other tasks, to "repair the Magazines [sic, plural] at Fort Frederick . . ."<sup>53</sup> But, several years later, in a communication to the Lower House, Sharpe referred to only "the Magazine" [sic, singular] at Fort Frederick.<sup>54</sup> Since there is no evidence that St. Clair ever visited the fort, Sharpe's reference to one magazine must be taken as the strongest historical evidence.

Three King's Maps show powder magazines in the bastions.<sup>55</sup> Bastions were favorite places to locate magazines because they provided maximum protection

from enemy bombardment. Archeological evidence, such as it is, from Fort Frederick in the 1930's, suggests that a magazine or magazines could have been in either or both the northeast and/or the southwest bastions. An undated archeological map of the fort and an undated "List of Relics"<sup>56</sup> indicate that four cannon balls were found in the southwest bastion. The 1934 archeological map (Appendix A) shows a "shale over decayed wood" walkway entering the northeast bastion. This walkway bears remarkable similarity to the entrance ways to powder magazines at other forts.<sup>57</sup> } ?

The question of powder magazines should be a subject for future archeology at Fort Frederick. It is very possible that foundations for them will be found below the two foot level of CCC excavation.<sup>58</sup> X

The archeologist at Fort Ligonier had to go eight feet below grade to find foundations for the Ligonier magazine.<sup>59</sup> The magazine shown in Appendix B2 is log (encased in concrete for longevity) and is based on the original plans for log magazines at Fort Pitt and Fort William Henry.<sup>60</sup> Fort Augusta in Pennsylvania had a vaulted masonry magazine, which still exists.

There is one final question that belongs in a discussion of the wall - cannon. Sharpe told Dinwiddie that he planned to mount four iron six-pounders at Fort Frederick, one in each bastion. An inventory of arms owned by Maryland in September, 1756, listed four iron six-pounders on carriages at Annapolis.<sup>61</sup> As has been noted, four cannon balls were found in the southwest bastion.<sup>62</sup> Although there is no historical evidence to confirm that the cannon Sharpe intended for the fort ever got there, the fact that Maryland owned the precise number and

type he wanted and the discovery of four cannon balls at the fort justifies the installation of four such cannons in the restoration.

There is presently at the fort one reproduction iron six-pounder mounted on a field carriage. Three more like it would fill the restored fort's artillery requirements adequately. The field carriage is preferable to a garrison carriage for several reasons. First, the plan of Fort Niagara shows a field carriage in use on the upper story of a redoubt where, by rights, a garrison carriage should be.<sup>63</sup> Second, if the four six-pounders on carriages at Annapolis were taken to Fort Frederick (about 125 miles), they would have had to been mounted on field carriages because garrison carriages would have been inadequate for such a lengthy journey. Finally, if one cannon had to service all four walls in each bastion, a field carriage would be preferable to a garrison carriage because of its superior maneuverability.<sup>64</sup>

## 2. The Outwork

The components of the wall described above comprised the main part of the fort. Normally, a fort of any major proportion like Fort Frederick had additional earth works beyond the fort which was called the outwork or counter fort. The outwork was part of the "defense in depth" concept discussed above. Fortification manuals of the period devoted as much space to the outwork as to the main fort. Muller even provided directions for making sure that the volume of earth removed in cutting the outwork's ditch equaled the volume of earth needed to fill the fort walls. Moreover, every fort in the King's Maps the size of or larger than Fort Frederick had outworks. So did many of the smaller ones.



The historical evidence for an outwork at Fort Frederick is, as has been pointed out, slim. In fact, it is limited to Beall's rather cryptic statement that he was "now about getting the Stoccadés." This was presumably a reference to a palisade of pointed logs set vertically in the ditch of the outwork.

The outwork shown in the reconstruction plans (Appendix B1 & 2) is hypothetical. It is based on the plan of Fort Stanwix, New York, which was about the same size and of the same general proportions as Fort Frederick.<sup>65</sup> The outer-most feature of the outwork is the glacis, a gentle slope which served several purposes. First, it hid much of the main fort below ground level. Secondly, it served to deflect direct cannon fire. Third, it forced approaching enemy ranks to place themselves in a direct line of fire from the fort's parapets. The steep slope inside the glacis was called the counterscarp, since it faced opposite the scarp of the fort. Sometimes, though not at Stanwix, the counterscarp had a banquette and terre plein of its own to better enable the fort's defenders to make use of the cover provided by the glacis in repulsing an attack. The ditch or cut was the deepest feature of the outwork and often had a palisade of sharpened logs.<sup>66</sup>

Discovering whether or not there was an outwork at Fort Frederick and, if so, its original configuration seem at this point to be tasks for an archeologist. If the earth was cleared out of the fort wall during the Revolution, what more logical place to put it than back in the ditch where it came from? This and the fact that the ground around the fort went under the plow for a century or so after the Revolution account for why there is no obvious evidence of any outwork

X

that may have existed. Archeology should be able to differentiate disturbed strata from undisturbed strata and detect post molds from decayed palisades and thus prove positively the existence of an original outwork.

### 3. Major Interior Structures

Existing foundations at Fort Frederick indicate the original presence of three major structures inside the main wall (see Appendix A). The longer and narrower two buildings were enlisted men's quarters, as James Kenny confirmed in his 1759 diary, "In the Fort a row of Barracks on the East and West sides and great space in the Middle"<sup>67</sup> The shorter, wider building to the north was a combination officers' quarters and storerooms. Beall referred to this structure as the "Officers Barracks",<sup>68</sup> and Kenny called it "the King's Storehouse" indicating further that the goods unloaded from his wagons were stored there.<sup>69</sup> <sup>a</sup> The Revolutionary War veteran who guarded prisoners at the fort remembered that this building "was built with some taste having arched doors and windows and was called the 'King's House'."<sup>70</sup>

The historical evidence as to the construction material of these three buildings conflicts. Sharpe's numerous references to a stone fort would seem to indicate stone buildings, such as General Jeffrey Amherst built at Crown Point, New York, in 1759.<sup>71</sup> But, Beall's comment that "the Timbers are ready for the Officers Barracks"<sup>72</sup> suggests hewn log. The lease of the fort to Dr. Henry Heinzman in December, 1762, mentioned that local residents "make great waste and destruction of the said fort and improvements by burning the plank and other materials,"<sup>73</sup> which also suggests wooden buildings. A grant of land either near to or containing Fort Frederick made in 1773 reserved for the Province "the right of

cutting timber for repairing Fort Frederick and the Barracks belonging to the same . . . ,"<sup>74</sup> which indicates wooden structures. During the Revolution, Colonel Rawlings paid two British prisoners £12.07.06 "for daubing and underpinning barracks,"<sup>75</sup> which indicates log construction. In 1846, the Revolutionary War veteran, who was described as afflicted with failing memory, said that all three buildings were frame.<sup>76</sup> A certain Mr. Moore reported sometime after 1840 that there had been at one time a log structure inside the fort.<sup>77</sup> An elderly resident of Clear Spring told J. T. Scharf in 1882 that the Fort Frederick barracks, "which were substantial stone structures," were still standing in 1820, and that "the longest of them was known as the Governor's house"<sup>78</sup> Dr. Porter, after examining the surviving foundations and reading Beall's reference to timbers, was of the opinion that the buildings were all hewn log.<sup>79</sup>

The possibility of stone buildings can be ruled out with certainty. First, the surviving foundations, which average 20" wide, are too narrow for stone walls. Second, if the buildings were stone, like the scarp wall, why did nothing remain of them above ground level when so much of the scarp wall remained above ground? The stone barracks built by Amherst at Crown Point in 1759 are still intact, though dilapidated. Of the remaining two possibilities, frame and log, log seems considerably more likely. Beside the historical evidence for log already cited, there are other reasons. First, log construction would be simpler, cheaper and faster than frame. Beside the quantity of plank that would have been necessary to frame the buildings would have required a sawmill,<sup>80</sup> no evidence of which exists for the Fort Frederick area in 1756. Finally, the writer, who surveyed historic structures in Washington County for the Maryland Historical Trust in 1967, does not recall any surviving frame buildings

in the county dating from as early as the fort. By contrast, there are numerous stone and log structures contemporary to the fort.

The proposed plan for the barrack restoration (Appendix B3) is based on several sources. The most important is the plan and elevations for the officers' barracks at Fort Ontario.<sup>81</sup> Those barracks were built on ground plans strikingly similar to the foundations of the two enlisted barracks at Fort Frederick, with two minor exceptions: the Fort Ontario barracks were slightly smaller and their fireplaces were offset toward the backs of the buildings rather than toward the fronts, as was the case at Fort Frederick. Like the Fort Frederick barracks, these at Fort Ontario were of hewn log. The saddle and notch construction shown joining the logs at Fort Frederick is the only construction observed in other colonial period log structures in the fort's vicinity.

The Fort Ontario plans and elevations supply us with additional features for the Fort Frederick barracks that are otherwise without substantiation. Interior stairways are shown at Fort Ontario on the front sides of the fireplaces. Since Fort Frederick's fireplaces were offset to the front, the architect has put the stairs behind the fireplaces. This, it might be noted, would reduce congestion at the doorways in case of alarm. The Fort Ontario plans clearly show doorways on the building fronts opposite the fireplaces. While this arrangement might seem awkward, it would also utilize the minimal possible number of necessary doors, thus cutting expense. The lower story front windows shown for Fort Frederick are reduced in size and number from the windows on the officers' barracks at Fort Ontario because the Fort Frederick barracks under discussion were for enlisted men. In fact, the Fort

Frederick windows are more similar to the windows for the enlisted barracks (which were casemated) at Fort Ontario. The small rear windows shown for Fort Frederick are based on similar windows shown in the Fort Ontario officers' barracks. The small windows above floor level on the upper one half story at Fort Frederick were suggested by Charles Stotz who pointed out that, if the upper one half stories were to be used for quartering troops (see below), the windows would provide needed light. A similar window exists at the Evans House (1764) in Carroll County, which is also a story and one half log building.

The interior arrangement of rooms is based on the Fort Ontario plans and others. The log partitions between rooms are done in the manner of Stotz's restoration at Ligonier and seems to be indicated in the casemated enlisted barracks at Fort Ontario. The arrangement of bunks is based on the enlisted barracks at Fort Ontario, the fortified buildings at Half Moon, New York,<sup>82</sup> Fort Loudoun, Virginia,<sup>83</sup> and Fort Miller, New York.<sup>84</sup> They are two-tier with sleeping space on each tier measuring approximately six feet by four feet. Figuring two men sleeping per tier, thirty-six men can be accommodated in one room and 144 on the entire lower level, if arranged the same throughout. The significance of these figures will receive further treatment below.

The fireplaces shown in the Fort Frederick drawing are stone with oak support beams. The chimneys are shown in brick, but they could have well been stone.<sup>85</sup> Although many civilian structures of the period have chimneys offset in such a way that they emerge from the centers of roofs, chimneys in military structures often rose straight up, as shown for Fort Frederick. The Fort Ontario officers' barracks were done this way.

The roof construction shown for Fort Frederick has the peak and notch arrangement so typical of eighteenth century structures. The hip ends show up frequently in military buildings of the period, including Fort Ontario.<sup>86</sup> Wooden shingles were used at Fort Duquesne,<sup>87</sup> and the discovery at Fort Frederick of a frow for making wooden shingles suggests that Fort Frederick had them, too.<sup>88</sup>

The 1930's archeology at Fort Frederick uncovered what was reported as evidence of porches along the fronts of both enlisted barracks. This evidence included brick gutters in "several places about 7 ft. in front" of the two barracks, "also stone foundations that were probably supports for porches along the Barracks."<sup>89</sup> The only feature in the 1934 archeological map which seems to reflect these findings is shown in Appendix A, item number 12. The question of porches is problematic. While overhanging porches covering the entire lengths of buildings were common in civilian architecture (such as the Evans House), they seem to have been unheard of in military architecture. None of the King's Maps show porches, and both Charles Stotz and René Chartrand, the latter of whom is an authority on French colonial fortifications, were skeptical of porches at Fort Frederick. Nevertheless, something must have been in front of the barracks, and we are willing to accept either uncovered loose stone and/or brick pavement, or wooden walkways as possible explanations. The two detached footings (items 11, Appendix A) could have been foundations for steps leading up to some sort of walkway since the grade at the south ends of the barracks is several feet lower than at the north ends. Perhaps future archeology will warrant firmer conclusions. X

The proposed barrack reconstruction fits the original needs of the Fort Frederick garrison very well. When Sharpe got the initial funds

to build and garrison the fort in March, 1756, the authorized strength of the garrison was two companies of 101 men: one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, four sergeants, four corporals, one drummer and eighty-eight privates, which totaled ninety-seven enlisted ranks and four officers in each company.<sup>90</sup> In the October appropriation, Sharpe got authorization for one additional company of the same strength.<sup>91</sup> In August of 1756, in his letter to Dinwiddie, Sharpe commented that the "Barracks will receive and lodge very commodiously 200 Men besides Officers and on Occasion near twice that number."<sup>92</sup> And, in 1761, the Council of Maryland informed the Lords of Trade that the fort "Contains Barracks for 300 men."<sup>93</sup>

When Sharpe began building the fort, he knew he would have at least 200 men there, and he may well have anticipated the additional 100. As has been shown, the bunk arrangement proposed in Appendix B3 will permit accommodation of 144 men on the ground floor of each barrack. Twice that equals 288 men, only three less than the 291 enlisted men that would make up three companies of 97 men. Adding the officers, who would have had their own separate quarters, one gets a figure very close to the three hundred mentioned by the Council in 1761. The additional one half stories on each barrack would easily provide floor space for an additional one hundred men. Thus, we arrive at the top figure of four hundred mentioned by Sharpe in 1756.

One possible variable in all of this mathematical computation is evidence in the estimate of costs for the third company that each company was allotted thirteen beds. Thirteen is precisely the number of officers (4), non-commissioned officers (8), and drummers (1) in each company. Since all of these ranks were rated higher than private (even the

"drummers got more pay,") it is possible that each of them had separate beds. This would naturally be expected for the officers, who had separate and more spacious accommodations. Perhaps the non-coms and drummers had a section of two of each barrack set aside for them to live more comfortably than the privates. These special arrangements would not necessarily alter the barracks' stated capacity of two to four hundred men.

The "Officer's" quarters/storerooms building was quite unlike the enlisted barracks, at least we may infer so because of its different foundation plan. It is also unlike anything shown in the King's Maps.. Since the rebuilding of this structure is reserved for the second phase of restoration, we did not devote the time to it that we devoted to the other features of the fort. More work needs to be done before planning its reconstruction. Nevertheless, certain preliminary remarks can be made.

All historical evidence suggests that this building was more refined than the other two. The presence of interior foundations for room partitions, absent in the enlisted barracks, indicates a more substantial building, perhaps a full two stories or more. The occasional appellations attached to the structure, such as "King's House" and "Governor's house," are typically eighteenth century terms for the most important building in the fort.<sup>94</sup> The 1846 testimony by the Revolutionary War veteran with supposedly faulty memory described this building as something apart from the others, with arched doors and windows. Perhaps his recollection of frame building inside the fort was correct in this case, although Beall's reference to timbers and the probably absence of a source for so much sawn lumber would indicate otherwise.



It is certain, however, that the Governor's House was not built under the pressure that the enlisted barracks were built under, and it quite likely received extra care and effort in its construction. Beall's reference to 30,000 bricks may indicate brick fireplaces and chimney. Corner fireplaces, such as the foundations indicate for the living quarters wing of the building, are more complex than the double fireplace arrangements in the enlisted barracks. The large central room could have been an assembly room, perhaps for ceremonial occasions. The west wing, without fireplaces, probably contained the storerooms.

The discovery of a brass, Queen Anne style (early eighteenth century) dresser draw pull at Fort Frederick<sup>95</sup> is significant. It, too, suggests an element of refinement in an otherwise rude place. Since officers were gentlemen and were expected to live like gentlemen, even while on active duty, the possibility of them bringing quality furniture with them to the fort and otherwise aspiring to a higher standard of living than that of the men they commanded, has merit. When George Washington built Fort Loudoun in Winchester in 1757, he ordered the following from London to appoint his officers' quarters: "A Marble Chimney piece:" 250 panes of window glass, eleven by nine inches; wall paper for five rooms, "differing in their Colours;" wall paper for a dining room that had chairboards; "Papier Machee" to finish the ceilings of two rooms; "Two neat Mahogany Tables 4 1/2 feet square when spread and to join occasionally;" "1 Doz'n neat and strong Mahogany Chairs at 21/;" "Doz'n fashionable Locks for Partition doors and appurtenances;" and "1 doz'n fash'e Hinges for the Said Doors and 2 pr. larger."<sup>96</sup> A refined officers'

quarters at Fort Frederick would contrast with the ruder enlisted barracks and thus provide the visitor to the restored fort an interesting lesson in eighteenth century class consciousness.

#### D. Minor Interior Structures

As has been suggested, there is reason to believe that Fort Frederick originally contained more than the three buildings described above. The open spaces inside the south curtains give the appearance of having been intended for the accommodation of additional buildings. The twenty foot stone wings extending inward from the gate raises the possibility of casemated structures on the south walls, as appear in numerous of the King's Maps. Fort Cumberland, as has been mentioned, had guardhouses casemated on either side of its gate. Kenny's reference to "the guardhouse" at Fort Frederick makes the case all the more compelling. The pressing need right now to help resolve this problem is archeology to look for more foundations. X

#### E. Other Interior Features

There were additional features inside Fort Frederick that served to round out garrison life. The well near the northeast bastion was restored from the original in the early thirties by the Daughters of the American Revolution. Comparison of this restoration with the original well at Fort Augusta, Pennsylvania, indicates that the Daughters' restoration is probably reliable. The 1934 archeological plan indicated, however, that a pavement of loose stone originally surrounded the well (see Appendix A). It should be pointed out that wells are usually archeological treasure troves because of the numerous

items that people either dropped accidentally into them or purposefully dumped into them as convenient refuse receptacles. The undated 1930's archeological map with key shows that the bottom of a well bucket and part of a carved stone pipe were recovered from the Fort Frederick well. There is also a wooden canteen in the fort museum which was supposedly found in the well. The well seems to be another prime target for further archeological exploration. X

The present flagpole in the southwest bastion is based on those shown in the plans for Forts Ontario and Crown Point. When this bastion is restored, the pole should be moved to the inside of the point.<sup>97</sup> The present wooden gate is a hypothetical restoration and is not adequate. The post slots in the original wall indicate a heavier, double gate. The gates at Fort McHenry, Baltimore, and Fort Washington, on the Potomac in Maryland below Washington, D. C., can provide good models for properly restored gates.

The 1934 archeological plan shows several other features in the fort which have not been discussed here. Items 8 and 10 in Appendix A could have been anything. No explanation is offered here. Item 7 was inferred to be the brick foundation for a butcher's block and was accordingly restored. Its proximity to the front of the west barrack and the fact that its run-off gutter is in exactly the same relationship to the west barrack as the brick gutter near the east barrack (item 12) suggests that maybe this "butcher's block" foundation was actually an unusually well-preserved section of the paved way that possibly existed along the barrack front.

Item 9 was inferred to be "an old time bake oven."<sup>98</sup> If it was, it bears little obvious resemblance to the military bake ovens occasionally

indicated in the King's Maps and elsewhere. Military ovens were oval in plan and domed above ground.<sup>99</sup>

It is entirely possible that all of these ancillary features do not date from the fort's earliest years. Further archeology is indicated. X

#### F. Exterior Structures and Features

Forts on the colonial frontier became popular spots of settlement not only for private citizens seeking protection, but for merchants and tradesmen seeking to take advantage of the unusual concentration of potential customers.<sup>100</sup> Two stone foundations of unexplained origin have been discovered near Fort Frederick. Moreover, James Kenny reported in 1759 the existence of "a village of little houses, about 18 I think" around the fort. After unloading the wagons, Kenny and his men "took up our quarters at James Long's"<sup>101</sup> Perhaps Long's establishment was a tavern. In 1758, Governor Sharpe mentioned a "House which is built at a Considerable Distance from the Fort" in which smallpox victims were isolated from the rest of the garrison.<sup>102</sup> The problem of smallpox raises the possibility of a cemetery in the area of the fort. And, in fact, Kenny, during his stay at Fort Frederick, related the death and burial of an officer:

28th [January 1759] -- Lieut. Reily buried in our sight as we sat in the house [James Long's]; passed by our door, his arms on the coffin; the soldiers fired three vollies over him . . .<sup>103</sup>

The following story, which appeared in The Maryland Gazette on May 29, 1759, identifies a sutler's store at Fort Frederick:

We hear from Frederick Town, that Little Wort The Pedler, well know by the name of Captain Wort (who kept a store at Fort Frederick) and three of his associates, were lately all killed by the enemy, near Loyalhannon.

Finally, a garden for the garrison is a strong possibility. The King's Maps indicate that other forts had them,<sup>104</sup> presumably to supplement the garrisons' diets of dried meat and bread. The discovery of these various exterior features of the fort would seem to be a worthy project for future archeology. X

#### IV. Conclusion

The historical evidence now available for Fort Frederick justifies the continuation of plans to restore the fort. The evidence is such that we can be sure of an accurate and reliable restoration, provided there is further archeology, both inside and outside the wall. A twenty foot test trench dug in the south end of the east barrack by State Archeologist Tyler Bastian in 1971 resulted in four boxes and several bags of artifacts, many dating from the eighteenth century. There are currently plans for two fifty foot test trenches in both the northeast and southwest bastions. If these trenches yield significant results, then a full-scale archeological program would be in order. Such a project need not delay reconstruction. The ongoing project at Hanna's Town, Pennsylvania, successfully combines restoration of excavated features with archeology at other areas on the site. Once the foundations of the east barrack at Fort Frederick were excavated by an archeologist, for example, reconstruction could begin while archeology precedes elsewhere. X

The results of archeological projects at other eighteenth century forts in North America indicate a considerable potential for a similar project at Fort Frederick. The project at Louisbourg, Nova Scotia, has yielded extensive finds despite the ravages of earlier, amateurish

105  
digs and years of relic scavaging. Jacob Grimm's work at Ligonier  
has already been discussed. The Florida State University project at  
Fort Frederica, in northeast Florida, is another good example of the  
impressive results that are forthcoming from a sensitively conducted  
program of historical and archeological reserach.<sup>106</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Architect Charles M. Stotz, who has restored two French and Indian War forts, discusses these problems in Drums in the Forest: Decision at the Forts (co-authored by Alfred P. James, Pittsburgh, 1958), 120-1.

<sup>2</sup>Archives of Maryland 52:615-6.

<sup>3</sup>Archives 52:480-521.

<sup>4</sup>Archives 52:487-8.

<sup>5</sup>Archives 6:266.

<sup>6</sup>King's Map CXXI.30.

<sup>7</sup>Stanley Pargellis deals extensively with McKellar and Gordon in his Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1765 (New York and London, 1936), passim. Stotz deals with Gordon in Drums in the Forest, 86-8.

<sup>8</sup>Archives 6:266.

<sup>9</sup>Archives vols. 6 & 9. The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie (2 vols., Richmond, 1883).

<sup>10</sup>Archives 6:452.

<sup>11</sup>Lady Matilda Edgar, A Colonial Governor in Maryland: Horatio Sharpe and His Times, 1753-1773 (London, 1912), 2.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Archives 6:464, 466, 469, 485; 52:617.

<sup>14</sup>In a letter to Secretary Cecil Calvert, August 21, 1756, Sharpe stated that the ~~fort~~ would not cost above £2,000, Archives 6:466. As we shall see below, £6,00 was the final figure.

<sup>15</sup>Archives 6:469 (Sharpe to Dinwiddie, August 23, 1756); 52:650-6.

<sup>16</sup>Archives 55:359.

<sup>17</sup>Archives 55:690-1, 695-7 (May session, 1758); 56:134-5, 136-7 (December session, 1758).

<sup>18</sup>Archives 52:617.

<sup>19</sup>John W. Jordan, ed., "James Kenny, 'Journal to Ye Westward,'" Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XXXVII (1913), 402. Archives 58:395.

<sup>20</sup>King's Map CXXII. 38.

<sup>21</sup>George Washington's third plan for Fort Loudoun, Washington Papers, photostat copy, Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress.

<sup>22</sup>Archives 9:169.

<sup>23</sup>Archives 9:190-1, 193, 213-4.

<sup>25</sup>Irene Stewart, ed., Letters of General John Forbes Relating to the Expedition Against Fort Duquesne in 1758 (Pittsburgh, 1927), 117.

<sup>26</sup>Archives 56:136-7.

<sup>27</sup>Archives 32:25.

<sup>28</sup>Archives 14:100, 32:60; 58:395.

<sup>29</sup>Henry Stockbridge, "Old Fort Frederick" American Historical Register, II (1895), 862.

<sup>30</sup>The Beard of War papers are part of the Papers of the Continental Congress, which are now being indexed by the National Archives. As of August 28, 1973, the index contained no references to the Rawlings report. The staff working on the index project is aware of our interest in this document, should it still exist, and will notify us in the event of its discovery.

<sup>31</sup>Stockbridge, 62. Archives 16:443-4, 506, 545, 555.

<sup>32</sup>Account entitled "United States to Colonel Moses Rawlings," entries dated December 16 and 28, 1778, Rawlings Papers, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.

<sup>33</sup>Calendar of Maryland State Papers, #4, pt. 3, item 1171.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid, items 365, 366, 399, 400, 495, 512, 771, 941; #4, pt. 1, item 1020, 1048. Journals of the Continental Congress, XVIII (1780), 1122-3.

<sup>35</sup>Letter of Colonel John R. Kenly, 1st Regiment Maryland Infantry, to Captain W. D. Wilkins, February 1, 1862, National Archives.

<sup>36</sup>Archives 6:423.

<sup>37</sup>Archives 32:25.

<sup>38</sup>Archives 6:464,

<sup>39</sup>This description of the work done in the 1930's is reconstructed from Dr. Porter's "Progress Report on Fort Frederick, SP-1, MD." (unpublished typescript, 1937) and the Fort Frederick correspondence file, both at the U.S. National Park Service Office of the Chief Historian, Washington, D. C. Copies of the correspondence are also at the Maryland Department of Natural Resources, Annapolis. The King's Map of Fort



Oswego (CXXI.81) shows this fort to have been very small and built of wooden palisades, precisely the kind of fort Sharpe did not want to build on North Mountain. Using Oswego as a parallel to Fort Frederick seems questionable.

<sup>40</sup>Stotz, Drums in the Forest, 73-6.

<sup>41</sup>King's Map CXXI.108-3 shows tie beams in both curtains and bastions at Fort William Henry, New York. King's Maps CXXI.87, CXXI.92, and CXXI.95 show the same for Fort Ontario, New York. King's Map CXXII.14 shows it for Fort Ligonier, Pennsylvania.

<sup>42</sup>Archives 6:469.

<sup>43</sup>Archives 32:65.

<sup>44</sup>Archives 52:617.

<sup>45</sup>Photographs taken of the fort before the CCC work show these holes very clearly. The photos accompany Porter's "Progress Report" and George Schindel, "Narrative Report - Fort Frederick State Park #1 - Big Pool, Maryland" (unpublished typescript, 1936), National Archives. The lower two rows of holes in the curtain walls were plugged up in the thirties, evidently because they were inconsistent with the catwalk idea (letter of Dr. Porter to F. W. Besley, November 2, 1936, U.S. Park Service Fort Frederick correspondence file). The careful observer today can spot the plugged holes.

<sup>46</sup>Miscellaneous document, c. 1937, in National Park Service Fort Frederick correspondence file.

<sup>47</sup>A veteran of the Revolution recollected that when he guarded prisoners at the fort "about two acres of ground were enclosed by a well built stone wall of about 18 feet high." Letter of J. L. Bowman, the veteran's son, to John Spear Smith, September 21, 1846, Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>48</sup>Archeological Plan of Fort Frederick, 1934, Maryland Department of Natural Resources, Annapolis.

<sup>49</sup>Elements of the reconstructed wall have been taken from King's Maps CXXII.21 (Fort Pitt); CXXI.108-3 (Fort William Henry); and CXXI.87, CXXI.91, and CXXI.94 (Fort Ontario).

<sup>50</sup>King's Maps CXXI.102 (Fort Stanwix); CXXI.44 (Fort Frederick, New York) CXXI.74 (Fort Niagara); CXXI.108.3 (Fort William Henry); CXXI.91 and CXXI.94 (Fort Ontario). Also, map of Fort Edward in British Public Record Office, photostat copy, Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress; two unnumbered King's Maps of Fort Edward. Map of Fort Crown Point in Amherst Papers, British Museum, photostat copy, Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress.

<sup>51</sup>Archives 6:469 (Sharpe to Dinwiddie, August 23, 1756).

<sup>52</sup>King's Maps CXXI.99 (Fort Stanwix); CXXI.94 (Fort Ontario).

<sup>53</sup>Archives 9:169.

<sup>54</sup>Archives 58:395.

<sup>55</sup>King's Maps CXXII.16 and CXXII.17 (Fort Duquesne); CXXI.108.3 (Fort William Henry); CXXII.21 (Fort Pitt).

<sup>56</sup>In possession of the Maryland Department of Natural Resources.

<sup>57</sup>King's Maps CXXII.21 (Fort Pitt); CXXI.108.3 (Fort William Henry): unnumbered King's Map of Fort Edward.

<sup>58</sup>Schindel, "Narrative Report," 2.

<sup>59</sup>Jacob L. Grimm, Archaeological Investigation of Fort Ligonier, 1960-1965 (Annals of the Carnegie Museum, Pittsburgh, 1970), 37.

<sup>60</sup>King's Maps CXXII.21 (Fort Pitt) and CXXI.108.3 (Fort William Henry).

<sup>61</sup>Archives 6:469; Lower House Journal, Liber 48, p. 334, Maryland Hall of Records.

<sup>62</sup>One of these is on display in the Fort Frederick museum. It should be examined by an ordnance expert to confirm that it is in fact a six pound shell and dates from the French and Indian War. George Schindel, in his "Narrative Report" said the cannon balls weighed "about 8 lbs. apiece," 2.

<sup>63</sup>King's Maps CXXI.78-1 (Fort Niagara).

<sup>64</sup>Live firing demonstrations of the six pounder now at Fort Frederick by the First Maryland Regiment show that a team of ten or fifteen men can maneuver this piece with considerable ease and speed.

<sup>65</sup>King's Maps CXXI.99 and CXXI.101.

<sup>66</sup>Terre pleins and banquettes: King's Maps CXII.11a & 11b (Fort Augusta); CXXII.19 (Fort Pitt); CXXI.92 (Fort Ontario). Palisades in ditch: King's Maps CXXII.11b (Fort Augusta); CXXI.92 (Fort Ontario).

<sup>67</sup>Kenny, "Journal," 402.

<sup>68</sup>Archives 52:617.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., 402-3. *at fn 19?*

<sup>70</sup>Bourman to Smith, op cit. *cited in f.h. 47*

<sup>71</sup>Plan in Amherst Papers, op cit.

<sup>72</sup>Archives 52:617.

<sup>73</sup>Quoted in Stockbridge, 754.

<sup>74</sup>Frederick County Land Deeds, Liber BC & GS, #47, fol. 266; Liber BC & GS #46, Fol. 238; Maryland Hall of Records.

<sup>75</sup>"U.S. to Rawlings," entry for August 9, 1778.

<sup>76</sup>Bourman to Smith.

<sup>77</sup>Letter of Mrs. Raymond Hart to Mr. Gerald Sword, 1971, in Mr. Sword's possession.

<sup>78</sup>J.T. Scharf, History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day (3 vols., Baltimore, 1882), II, 1297.

<sup>79</sup>Porter, "Progress Report," 2.

<sup>80</sup>Stotz, Drums in the Forest, 84.

<sup>81</sup>King's Map CXXI.87.

<sup>82</sup>King's Map CXXI.68.

<sup>83</sup>Washington's third plan, op. cit.

<sup>84</sup>King's Map CXXI.72.

<sup>85</sup>Beall told Sharpe in the 1756 progress report he had 30,000 bricks molded. This was after the enlisted barracks were up, but before the officers' barracks were up. 30,000 bricks would be about the number necessary for the fireplaces and chimney in the officers' barracks.

<sup>86</sup>King's Maps CXXII.14 (Fort Ligonier); CXXI.87, CXXI.92, CXXI.94 (Fort Ontario); CXXI.102 (Fort Stanwix).

<sup>87</sup>Archives 31:177.

<sup>88</sup>The frow is on display in the museum. The opinion of a tool expert ought to be solicited to be certain that it dates from the middle of the eighteenth century.

<sup>89</sup>Schindel, "Narrative Report," 2.

<sup>90</sup>The breakdown of number of men in each rank is taken from an estimate of costs made a few months later for the raising of the third company (Archives 52:632-3). In May, 1758, Sharpe informed the Lower House that there were 190 men and officers at Fort Frederick in September, 1756 (Archives 55:645-651).

<sup>91</sup>Archives 52:650-6. On February 4, 1757, Sharpe wrote Secretary Calvert "The Garrison at Fort Frederick instead of being 300 scarcely amounts to 250 Men . . ." (Archives 6:524).

<sup>92</sup>Archives 6:469.

<sup>93</sup>Archives 32:25.

<sup>94</sup>King's Maps CXXI.44 (Fort Frederick, New York): CXXI.74 (Fort Niagara). Unnumbered plan of Fort George, British Public Record Office, photostat copy, Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress.

<sup>95</sup>The pull is displayed in the museum. Unfortunately, the undated archeological map and key do not make certain exactly where the pull was found.

<sup>96</sup>Dated "Fort Loudoun, April 15th, 1757" in John C. Fitzpatrick ed., The Writings of George Washington From the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799 (39 vols. Washington, 1931-44, III, 23.

<sup>97</sup>Plan of Crown Point, Amherst Papers. King's Maps CXXI.94 & .95 (Fort Ontario).

<sup>98</sup>Schindel, "Progress Report," 3.

<sup>99</sup>King's Maps CXXI.75 (Fort Niagara). Harold L. Peterson, The Book of the Continental Soldier (Harrisburg, Pa., 1968), 155.

<sup>100</sup>King's Map CXXI.94 (Fort Ontario) and the Public Record office map of Fort George show such settlements.

<sup>101</sup>Kenny, "Journal," 402.

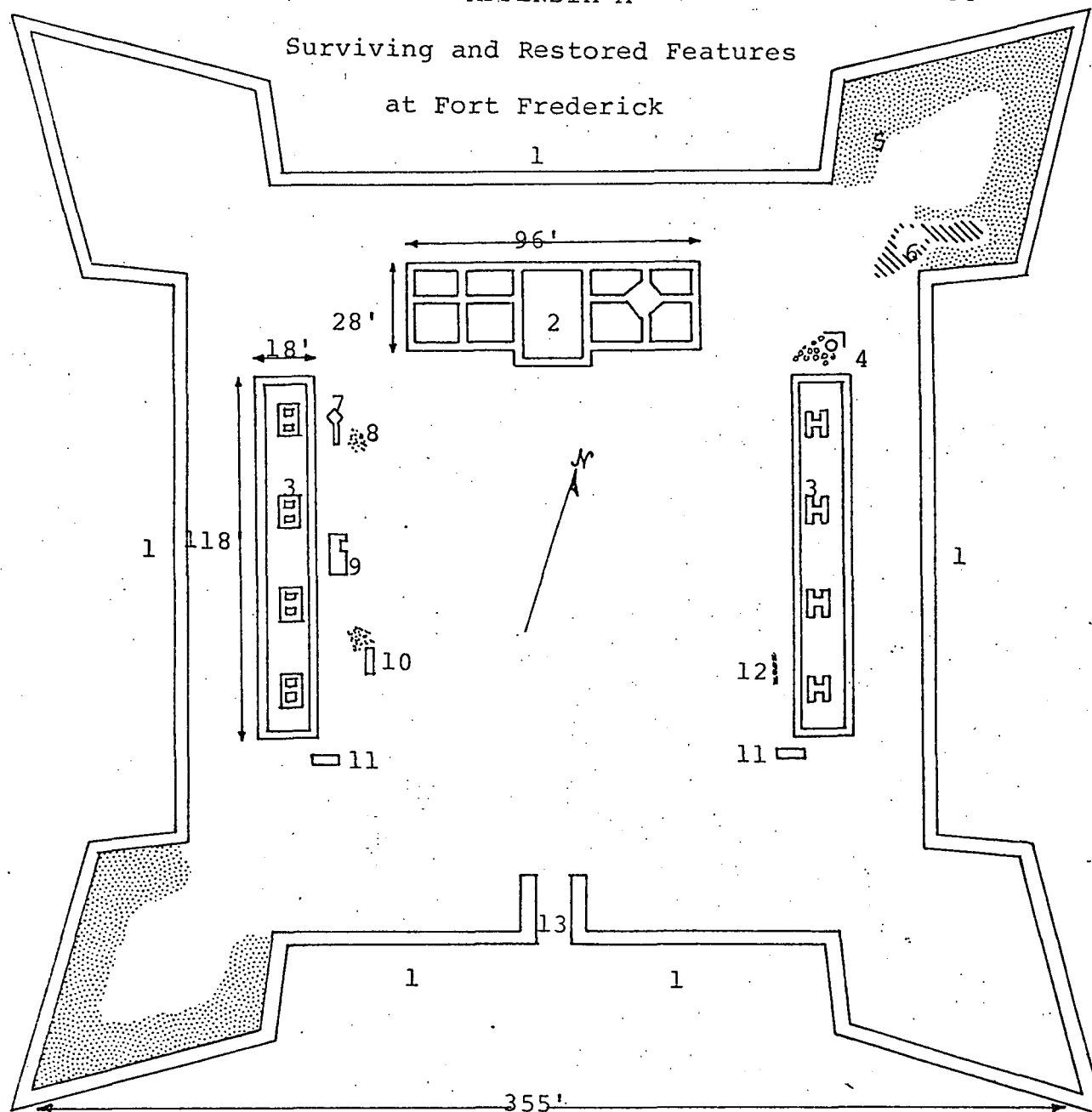
<sup>102</sup>Archives 9:192.

<sup>103</sup>Kenny, "Journal," 404.

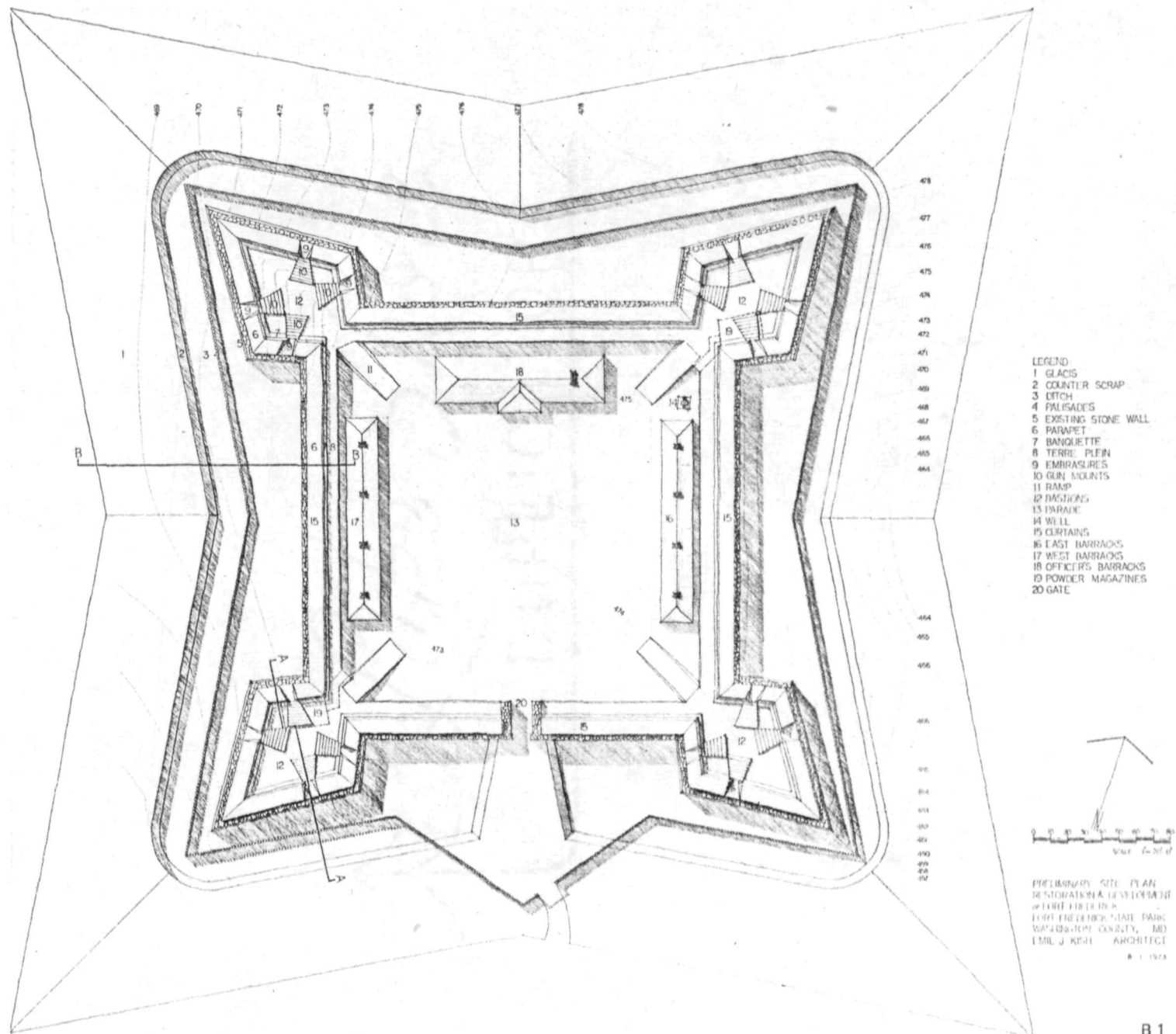
<sup>104</sup>Charles Stotz also suggested the possibilities of a garden at Fort Frederick.

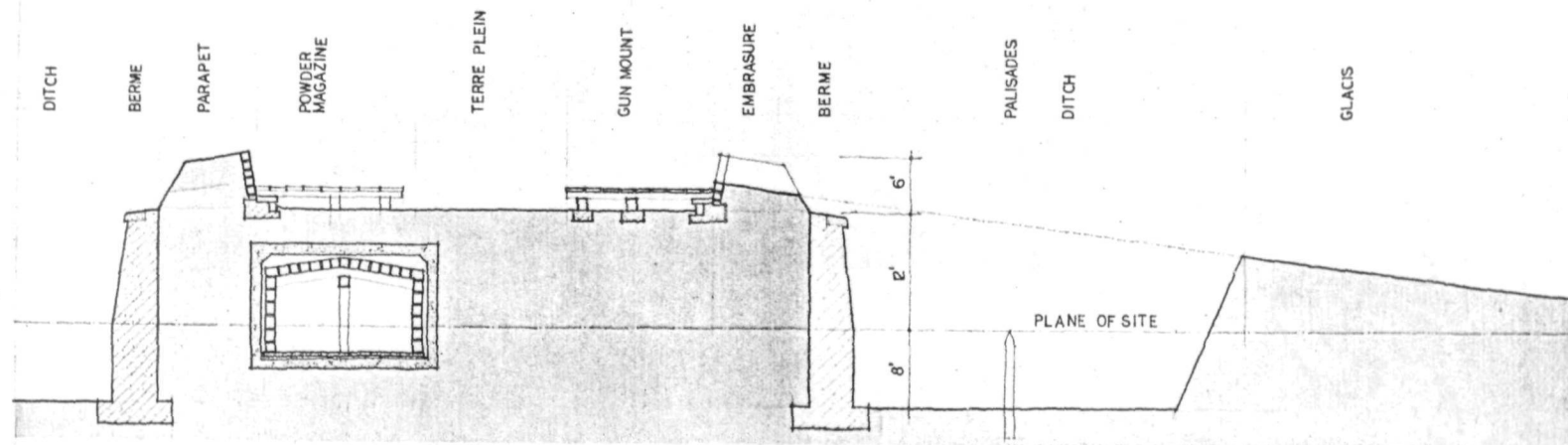
<sup>105</sup>Edward McM. Larrabee, et al., Contributions from the Fortress of Louisbourg - No. 1 (Canadian Historic Sites, Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History, No. 2; Ottawa, 1971), 10-13.

<sup>106</sup>Albert C. Manucy, The Fort at Frederica (Florida State University Department of Anthropology, Notes in Anthropology, vol. 5; Tallahassee, 1962).

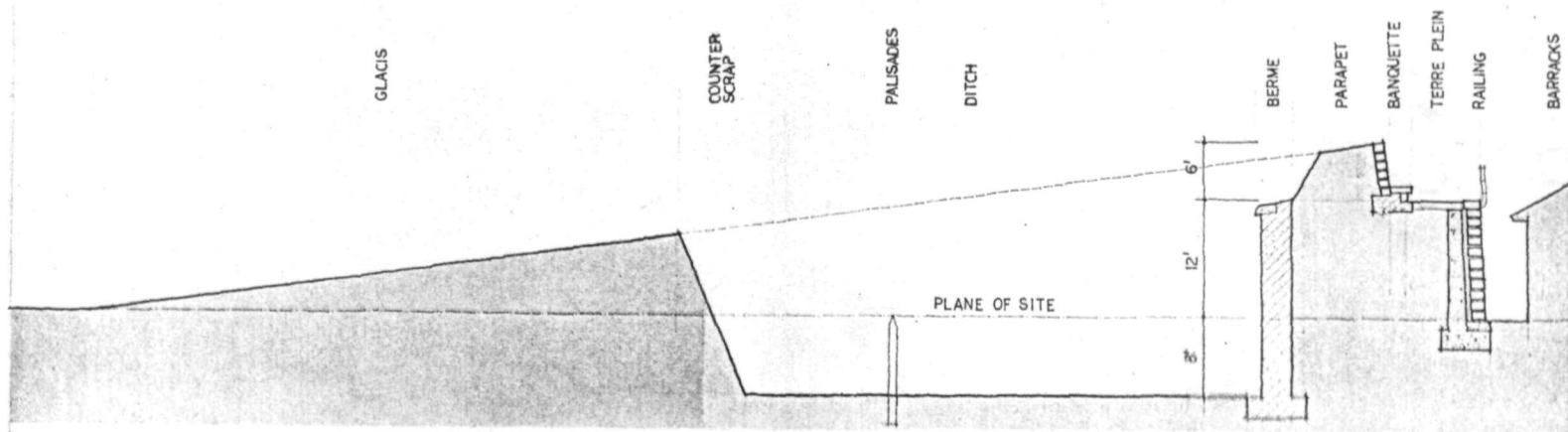


- |  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| 1. Scarp Wall, stone, partially restored.                          | 5. Thin layer decayed wood.   | 10. Single course brick paving and loose stone. |
| 2. Foundations, officers' quarters and storeroom, capped to grade. | 6. Shale over decayed wood  | 11. Footings, stone, capped.                    |
| 3. Foundations, enlisted barracks, capped.                         | 7. Foundation for butcher's block, brick, restored.                     | 12. Gutter, brick                               |
| 4. Well, stone, restored.  | 8. Debris brick.  | 13. Gateway.                                    |
|  | 9. Foundation for fireplace, inferred to be a bake oven, stone, capped. |   |



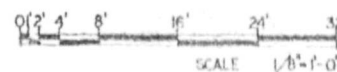


SECTION A-A



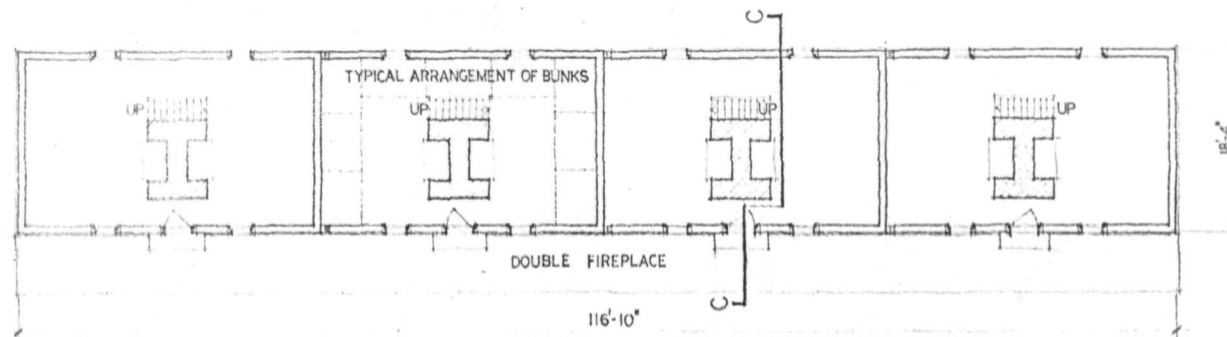
SECTION B-B

SECTIONS  
RESTORATION & DEVELOPMENT  
OF FORT FREDERICK  
FORT FREDERICK STATE PARK  
WASHINGTON COUNTY MD  
EMIL J KISH ARCHITECT

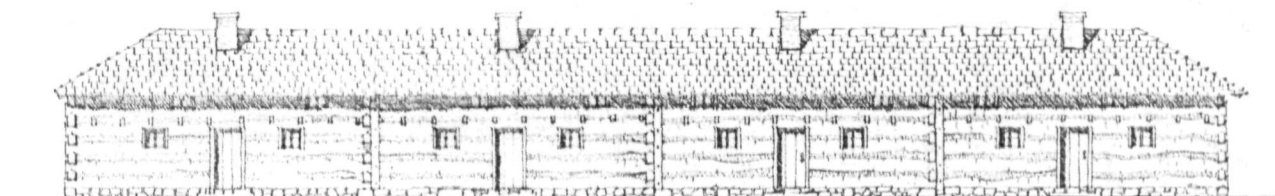


8-1-1973

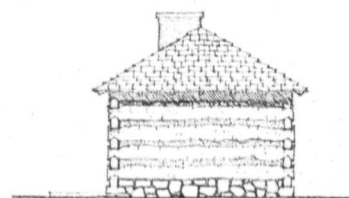
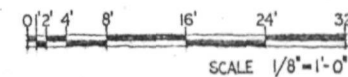
B 2



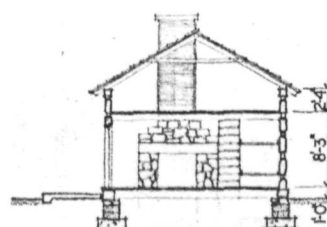
PLAN



FRONT ELEVATION



SIDE ELEVATION



SECTION C-C

EAST BARRACKS  
RESTORATION & DEVELOPMENT  
OF FORT FREDERICK  
FORT FREDERICK STATE PARK  
WASHINGTON COUNTY · MD  
EMIL J KISH · ARCHITECT

8-1-1973



## Appendix C

Copies of this report are being submitted to the following qualified persons for their critical evaluation:

Tyler Bastian: Maryland State Archeologist; performed test trench at the fort in 1971 and has undertaken historical research as to the fort's original appearance.

Michael Bourn: Survey and Inventory Coordinator, Maryland Historical Trust; an authority in early Maryland architecture.

William L. Brown, III: Fellow, Company of Military Historians; Commander, reactivated First Maryland Regiment; has done research on the fort's history.

Paul Buchanan: Director of Architectural Research, Colonial Williamsburg; an authority on restoration of colonial architecture.

Duncan Campbell: Curator, William Penn Memorial Museum; Fellow, Company of Military Historians; an authority on military history.

Cary Carson: Architectural Historian and Coordinator of Research, St. Mary's City Commission; an authority on early Maryland architecture.

René Chartrand: Military Curator, (Canadian) National Historic Sites Service; Fellow, Company of Military Historians; an authority on French colonial fortifications.

Jacob L. Grimm: Military Archeologist; Fellow, Company of Military Historians; directed archeological project at Fort Ligonier.

William Hunter: Director, Division of History, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission; author of two books on Pennsylvania frontier forts.

Burton K. Kummerow: Fellow, Company of Military Historians; member of reactivated First Maryland Regiment; has done research on fort's history.

Harold L. Peterson: Curator, U. S. National Park Service; Fellow, Company of Military Historians; author of numerous works on military history; particularly the colonial period, including a book on early American forts.

Charles W. Porter: Historian, U.S. National Park Service, retired; undertook historical research on Fort Frederick for Civilian Conservation Corps project.

Orlando Ridout: Field Services Director and State Historical Preservation Officer, Maryland Historical Trust; an authority on early Maryland architecture.

Charles M. Stotz: Architect and historian; restored Forts Pitt and Mifflin; author of several works on colonial architecture and fortifications.

Gerald Sword: Local historian; an authority on the fort's history.

Arthur Townsend: Director, Maryland Historical Trust; an authority on early Maryland Architecture.

*Savoy Stone*

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Executive Papers Box X, folder 28, Maryland Hall of Records

Samuel Hughes, Hagerstown, to Gov. Thomas Johnson, Jan. 15, 1778

"Sir

"Your letter respecting Fort Frederick only came to hand two days ago, since which I have been at the Fort & find much less to do than I expected -- the Barracks only want 32 winders & 24 doors plank'd up, and the upper Story a little better closed to the roof. The upper joists project about six feet over the wall on one side and the roof is pitch'd to the extreme end which leaves an opening between the wall & the roof of about 2 feet, which I intend shall be done up with a few upright p<sup>s</sup> [posts?] from the wall to the roof & plank'd in clap boarded [sic], which will be cheaper than lay<sup>s</sup> plank over head -- the backs of the Chimneys in the first story of one Barrack are all broken down -- backs shall be made in two stacks which makes four fireplaces instead of eight which I think is enough as there is no partitions except in two rooms.

"The House call<sup>d</sup> the Governors is a good frame and excellent roof. the weather boards are torn off near the ground but can be easily replaced as many of the Nails are remaining in the studs -- this done, a loose floor in the upper story, & the doors & winders closed up will make it a very comfortable summer Barrack. Chimneys are want<sup>s</sup> but fires may be made in the lower story to answer for which little time will be remain<sup>s</sup> of this Winter.

"The break in the wall is about 10 feet I shall direct it to be done up in the stockade way for the present as stone work done now wo<sup>d</sup> be very insecure in the Spring -- the Gate shall be secured on the outside by a [an illegible three or four letter word] of Iron & a lock -- the Wicket Gate will be sufficient to communicate with the Fort in common --

Hughes to Johnson, continued, p. 2

"The Well is clear & only wants a rope and two Buckets to afford good water -- there is a Bank of dirt thrown up in the North Bastion which must be removed otherwise an escape may be easily made over the wall, but this may be done after the gaurd comes up --

"I have engaged 2000 feet of poplar plank to be ready in a month at [Kershners?] mill -- M<sup>r</sup>. Jacques cant supply any sooner. this plank will be [an illegible three letter word] the Governors house -- I hope to get as much as will finish the two Barracks immediately & have engaged a Carpenter to do it -- the materials necessary shall be engaged to day -- as I am obliged to go to Williamsburg have got Cap<sup>t</sup>. Burgess to undertake the direction of this business and think the Fort & two Barracks may be ready in a Fortnight -- M<sup>r</sup>. Jacques & M<sup>r</sup>. Barnes have promised some asistance -- Houses will be want<sup>d</sup> for the Gaurd on the outside of the Fort. there is two old buildings in the feild that may be moved up, but shall leave this to your further directions -- There is no timber in the province land for Fire wood. M<sup>r</sup>. Jacques will furnish it for pay. He says there is a [sic] reservation in his grant of Timber to repair the Barracks, but for no other use -- as your Excellency may not have the exact dimensions of the Barracks have put them at foot. the [sic] may be of some service in calculat<sup>d</sup> the number of men that can be stow<sup>d</sup> away -- Huts can be soon Knock'd up in the Fort to hold as many men as the Barracks -- I shall engage as many Nails as I can, for a quantity will be wanted for the Houses for the Gaurd -- the Governors House will not be ready in less than six weeks for want of plank. for any thing further must refer to Coll. Rollins -- I am with much respect

Hughes to Johnson, continued, p. 3

"2 Barracks two story high

"Your Excellencys

120 feet in length }  
17 -- wide -- } in y<sup>e</sup> cleer

Obedient Hb. Servant

Sam<sup>l</sup> Hughes

4 stacks of Chimneys & fire  
places in each story --

"Hagers Town 15 Jan<sup>y</sup> 1778"

The Governors House  
90 feet by 27 --"

FORT FREDERICK RESTORATION:  
SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT ON HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Since the preparation of the "Fort Frederick Restoration: Report on Historical Research," September 1973, a new piece of documentary evidence has come to light. The new document is the single most informative piece of evidence regarding the fort's original appearance that has been found. It significantly alters the view of the fort's original appearance as presented in last year's "Report," but it also takes the plans for restoration beyond the realm of educated conjecture to the safer ground of reasonable certainty.

The new discovery is a three-and-a-half-page letter written by Samuel Hughes to Governor Thomas Johnson, January 1778. Hughes was one of the men contracted by the state to refurbish the fort for use as a prison during the Revolution. Because the letter is so important, it is reproduced here in its entirety.

Sir

Your letter respecting Fort Frederick only came to hand two days ago, since which I have been at the Fort & find much less to do than I expected -- the Barracks only want 32 winders & 24 doors plank'd up, and the upper Story a little better closed to the roof. The upper joists project about six feet over the wall on one side and the roof is pitch'd to the extreme end which leaves an opening between the wall & the roof of about 2 feet, which I intend shall be done up with a few upright p<sup>s</sup> [posts?] from the wall to the roof & plank'd in clap boarded [sic], which will be cheaper than lay<sup>g</sup> plank over head -- the backs of the Chimneys in the first story of one Barrack are all broken down -- backs shall be made in two stacks which makes four fireplaces instead of eight which I think is enough as there is no partitions except in two rooms.

The House call<sup>d</sup> the Governors is a good frame and excellent roof. the weather boards are torn off near the ground but can be easily replaced as many of the Nails are remaining in the studs -- this done, a loose floor in the upper story, & the doors & winders closed up will make it a very comfortable summer Barrack. Chimneys are want<sup>g</sup> but fires may be made in the lower story to answer for which little time will be remain<sup>g</sup> of this Winter.

The break in the wall is about 10 feet I shall direct it to be done up in the stockade way for the present as stone work done now wo<sup>d</sup> be very insecure in the Spring -- the Gate shall be secured on the outside by a [an illegible three or four letter word] of Iron & a lock -- the Wicket Gate will be sufficient to communicate with the Fort in common --

The Well is clear & only wants a rope and two Buckets to afford good water -- there is a Bank of dirt thrown up in the North Bastion which must be removed otherwise an escape may be easily made over the wall, but this may be done after the gaurd comes up --

I have engaged 2000 feet of poplar plank to be ready in a month at [Kershners?] mill -- M. Jacques cant supply any sooner. his plank will be [an illegible three letter word] the Governors house -- I hope  
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2 Barracks two story high

Your Excellencys

120 feet in length }  
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Obedient Hb. Servant

Sam<sup>l</sup>. Hughes

4 stacks of Chimneys & fire  
places in each story --

Hagers Town 15 Jan<sup>y</sup>. 1778

The Governors House  
90 feet by 27 --

#### Interpretation

Hughes' description of the barracks is strikingly similar to the surviving "Hessian" barrack at Frederick, Maryland (about 40 miles east of Fort Frederick). The Hessian barrack is one of two buildings erected in 1777 and used to house captured British and Hessian prisoners. Its main section is about 120 feet by 20 feet, like the Fort Frederick barracks. Unlike the Fort Frederick barracks, the Hessian barrack has an "L" wing projecting from its front facade on one end. For the sake of analogy, this wing will be ignored since the Fort Frederick barracks had no such wings. The main section of the Hessian barrack had four interior chimney stacks with double fireplaces opening in opposite directions, similar to Fort Frederick. It is a full two-story building with fireplaces on each floor. Only one of the stacks remains today. The rooms are partitioned between the stacks with vertical boards. Interior doorways link the rooms. There is one interior stairway, and it is against the end wall on the end of the building opposite the wing. A six-foot projection of the roof line over the building's front provides a porch cover. There is a double porch under the overhang. An exterior stairway leads from the ground to the upper porch on the end of the building opposite the interior stairway. Overall, it appears that the Hessian barrack is an excellent parallel structure to use as a model for the Fort Frederick barracks.



While the Hessian barrack is stone, Hughes' letter strongly suggests that the Fort Frederick barracks were frame. In lines 14 and 15, he positively identifies the Governor's House as frame. He says in lines 7-9 that he is going to close up unfinished portions of the barrack walls with clapboard, which suggests that the barracks might also be frame. But the fact that on the ground floor of one of the barracks there are "no partitions except in two rooms" (line 12) makes frame construction extremely likely because two interior partitions would be insufficient to support a log structure of the size of the Fort Frederick barracks. Furthermore, the Revolutionary War veteran who guarded prisoners at the fort remembered three frame buildings inside the walls ("Report," p. 26).

Hughes' comment about the partitions in two rooms on the ground floor of one of the barracks does present some difficulty in interpretation. Does he mean that there are two rooms partitioned into smaller rooms? Or, does he mean there are only two room partitions on the ground floor in the whole building? We are assuming that he means the latter since he indicates that the partition arrangement is such that restoration of only two of the four chimney stacks will serve the whole ground floor (lines 11-12). Exactly where these partitions were located is not clear. By analogy to the Hessian barrack and other period military buildings, the partitions probably went at the midway points between the chimney stacks. And, since we do not even know which of the two barracks Hughes is talking about, the architect has shown three partitions in the reconstruction plans on the assumption that one such partition could well have been removed by scavengers between 1759 and 1778. Contemporary accounts mention such scavenging ("Report," p. 14).

Hughes mentions 32 windows and 24 doors in the barracks which will have to be "plank'd up" (line 3). Presumably, he intends to board up windows and doors to make the buildings more secure for holding prisoners. The arrangement of windows on the front of the main section of the Hessian barrack would provide exactly 16 windows per barrack at Fort Frederick, which conforms to Hughes' figure. The Hessian barrack door arrangement, however, would provide 16 doors per Fort Frederick barrack, and that exceeds Hughes' figure by 4 doors per building. We have nevertheless decided to use the Hessian barrack door arrangement for two reasons. First, 12 doors per building does not fit in with other established factors. Secondly, Hughes would have had to leave some doors unplanked to provide entrance ways. *such as?*

The Hessian barrack has several original windows in its back wall. So do other military buildings illustrated in the King's Maps. But, some of the King's Maps buildings do not have rear windows, particularly those buildings which butt up near walls, as we believe the Fort Frederick barracks did. The small windows shown in the restoration drawings are taken from analogy to other period structures. Since they are so high up and open into the attic, planking them up would seem not to have been a security necessity.

Archeology at Fort Frederick in the 1930's revealed evidence of porches along the fronts of the barracks. We discounted this evidence in favor of uncovered walkways in our earlier study. In view of Hughes' remarks in lines 4-6, we have honorably reinstated the porches. Although Hughes does not explicitly describe a double porch, double porches are very common in period architecture, including the Hessian barrack. Also, the number of doors would indicate a second story porch. In view of the amount of brick fragments that have been recovered from the area in front of the barracks, we have decided to pave the lower level with brick.

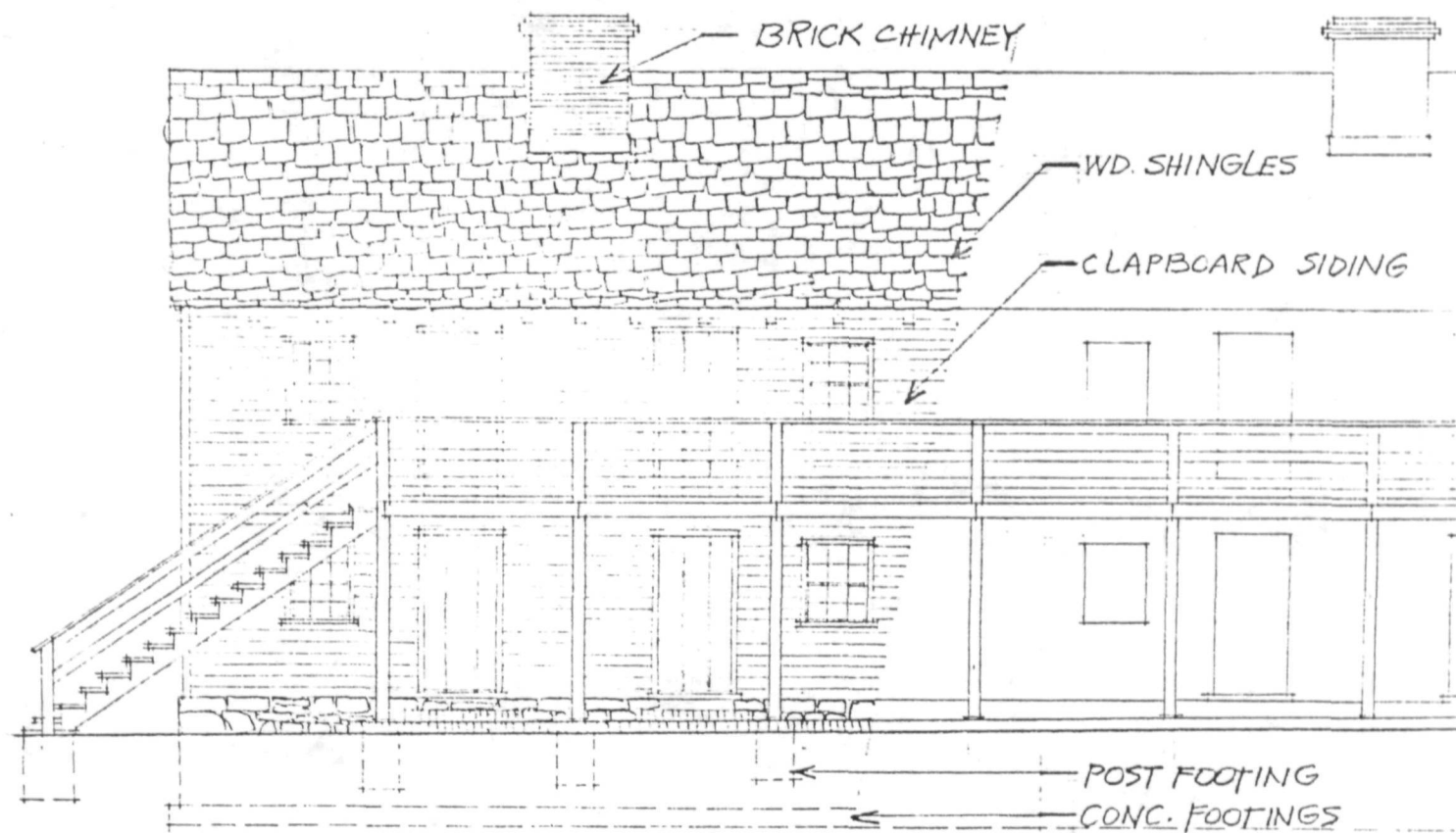
The stairway leading from the top level of the porch to the ground conforms to the configuration suggested by the detached stone footings found in the 1930's archeology ("Report," pp. 25,29,44). By analogy to the Hessian barrack, interior stairways will be located at the ends of the Fort Frederick barracks opposite the exterior stairways.

In lines 14-20, Hughes describes the Governor's House as two stories high and of frame construction. Like other commentators ("Report," pp.31-2), he, too, seems struck by the building's refinement. The lack of chimneys must be explained as the result of scavenging and deterioration since the remaining foundations indicate corner fireplaces in the east wing ("Report," p. 44). *(integrated by CCC)*

The ten-foot break in the wall (line 21) is documented elsewhere. The use of "Gate" in the singular (line 23) challenges the traditional view of a double gate at the fort. A double gate was inferred from the locations of hinge anchor depressions in the wings of the gate way. The "Wicket Gate" (line 26) is a hinged door cut through the main gate to permit people to enter and leave the fort singly without having to open the main gate itself. The "Bank of dirt thrown up in the North [east] Bastion," which Hughes recommends being removed to prevent escape (lines 29-31), brings up the possibility of no dirt behind the wall anywhere else, another challenge to our findings of last year ("Report," pp. 17-21, 46). Only archeology can solve this problem.

While Hughes' letter still does not provide us with every bit of information we would like to have as to Fort Frederick's original appearance, it does limit conjecture to small details and provides far more substantial information about the general size and shape of the barracks than we had before.

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FRONT ELEVATION

